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GEORGE D. HERRON

THE CHRISTIAN STATE

A POLITICAL VISION OF CHRIST.

SERIES IN AMERICAN STUDIES

Editor-in-Chief: Joseph J. Kwiat

PROGRAM IN AMERICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

THE CHRISTIAN STATE

A POLITICAL VISION OF CHRIST.

A COURSE OF SIX LECTURES DELIVERED IN CHURCHES IN VARIOUS AMERICAN CITIES.

BY

GEORGE D. HERRON

"For who is so irreligious, as not to be sorrowful? who so proud, as not to be humbled? who so wrathful, as not to forgive? who so luxurious, as not to abstain? who so sensual, as not to restrain himself? who so wicked, as not to repent during these days? And rightly so. For the Passion of the Lord is here, this very day, shaking the earth, rending the rocks, and opening the tombs. . . . Nothing better could be done in the world than that which was done by the Lord on these days." — BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX.

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TO

My Father and Mother,

ON WHOSE FAITH I BUILD,

I DEDICATE THESE LECTURES.

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I.

THE POLITICAL APPEARING OF CHRIST.

ALTHOUGH we must not for one moment deceive ourselves into thinking that our greatness or our learning is in the smallest degree necessary to Almighty God, we may yet remember that he, of his infinite mercy, has willed that man may become a co-operator with him in his work. It cannot be denied that the world is passing through a crisis which will one day form an epoch in history. There is trouble on all sides; the horizon of the future is black with clouds; and to whom may we look for succor if not to thee, O God? Industry, commerce, science, have advanced with rapid strides; but their progress is vain if the men who are to redeem society by a noble and upright standard of conduct are lacking.

Petroleum, dynamite, — these are the fruits of the teaching of the philosopher and the atheist. By the help of, and in the name of, Jesus Christ, I will endeavor to point out to you in these sermons the only remedy against the perils which surround us, and in his name I will show you the truth. First of all, the most essential of all things is the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. In the knowledge of Jesus Christ is contained the sum and substance of all truth. That point reached, there is an end of all hypothesis. With one clear, distinct rule of conduct, there is no longer any occasion to go from sophism to sophism, from negation to negation, from system to system. . . . Christianity has power to rekindle in our hearts the flame of brotherly love, to unite us all in one bond of faith and hope and love; and by and by, when the present crisis of trouble and difficulty shall have yielded to its holy influence, the strong will help the weak, and war and tumult will cease from the face of the earth. — *Father Agostino da Montefeltro.*

THE CHRISTIAN STATE

A POLITICAL VISION OF CHRIST.

I.

THE POLITICAL APPEARING OF CHRIST.

In beginning this lecture course, I ask you who hear me, and whoever may hereafter read these lectures in published form, to bear with me in a word of explanation and appeal. The six lectures of this course are the outgrowth and development of a widely discussed and criticised Commencement Oration, spoken to the University of Nebraska, on the 13th of June, 1894. The most of the criticisms coming to my notice have been wholly based upon either garbled and fragmentary reports or violent interpretations of that address. While

the idea of being personally understood has no part in this larger development of my thought, — for these lectures had been in preparation some months before their condensation in the oration in question, — I yet hope that, for the sake of the cause for which I speak, the criticism which may now be called forth will be less hasty, and more attentive to what I really say. The fault of the oration was the attempt at giving form to too much in one address — which fault I now try to remove. Although I have earnestly sought to sympathetically consider even the severest and most unreasoning criticism, and am glad to omit a familiar quotation from Mr. Chauncey M. Depew which he pronounces unauthoritative, I find myself unable to modify the essential message spoken to the University. But I have tried to so amplify and clarify that message as to leave no ground for mistaking my meaning. For my actual message I wish to evade no responsibility, but rather to be held strictly accountable. I only ask that critics may not base their judgments upon detached expressions, or even upon sin-

gle lectures, but try to adequately and sympathetically consider my thought and purpose as a whole, and thereupon base all judgment and criticism.

Nor can my message be justly considered except from the point of view at which I stand, and from which I shall speak — which is that of a political and social learner of Christ. No cause or truth can be helped by passing judgment upon me for failing to accomplish what I have not undertaken, and have no calling or purpose to undertake. It can but result in misunderstanding and impatience to persist in judging me from some other man's point of view, — from the standpoint of the statistical analyist of social conditions, or that of the scientific economist, or that of the religious or political partisan. This lecture course will not be an attempt to contribute to political, social, or theological science. It will be an appeal to the moral reason and undeveloped religious faith of the people; an effort to show the political appearing of Christ I have seen, while looking for some way of faith by which

our nation might pass from the present social distress and perplexity, through gathering storm and coming change, into a more orderly and righteous development. The hope of a national revival of the religion of Christ moves me to bear witness to his wisdom and authority in the apprehension and fulfilment of the functions of the state. Where there is no faith in Christ as immanent in the life of the world and guiding in the social movement, no faith in him as the living and reigning ruler of the nations, my words will be foolishness or an offence. There will also be sincere Christian minds, devoted and aspiring Christian hearts, who will not believe my report because unaccustomed to think of Christ in the terms which I shall use, or to conceive of him in the relations in which I shall set him forth. Although my words may have no more than an inspirational value, while I shall often speak with sorrow and reluctance, only after long waiting and under the profound sense of a divine compulsion, it is yet with great joy and large hope that I thus confess my political

faith in Christ, believing that I appeal to a like faith in many who are looking for the redemption of our nation and a juster civilization.

A political order that shall associate men in justice is the present search of civilized peoples. The old ways of political thinking and doing have exhausted themselves. Our present systems of human relations are not able to endure the strain that is coming upon them. Political constitutions, now sacred, will be consumed in the fervent heat of the social trial, and present forms of institutions will disappear. While the peoples international are waiting with a marvellous social patience, with no deep or authoritative disposition to any revolution that is not moral, constitutional, and progressive, none expect the existing order to continue. Not since Augustus achieved the Roman unity of a world of splendid misery, has the race so felt the certainty and the dread, the sorrow and the hope, of universal change. The civilization of to-day is the camp of a vast unorganized and undisciplined army, without visible

leadership or apparent method, yet consciously preparing for some nearing conflict which shall issue in a new beginning of history.

That civilization is full of trouble and change is not a cause for mere fear and dread, but for faith, sacrifice, and work. Nothing could be more dreadful than to have the present order of things exist without discontent, complaint, and change. The social movement bears only a superficial likeness to any movement of the past, and our possible failure to apprehend its meaning and act with its forces is the only ground it offers for fear. The world-passion of to-day is construction, however destructive some of its manifestations may yet prove. Unorganized and unharmonious as the forces of social change now seem, the peoples will be restrained by their faith in the providence and deliverance of the change, and united in the living sacrifice of their noblest sons upon the altar of their faith. The peoples are not angry, but rather in sorrow and expectancy, because of their inmost conviction that out of their travail and anguish will a better order of society be

born. The world is full of discontent; but it is the discontent of God with the degradation of his sons and daughters under the tyranny of a material dominion. Society is moving quickly toward revolution; but it is revolution from anarchy to order, from industrial slavery to industrial freedom, from social violence to social peace, from political atheism to the kingdom of God. The revolution is the manifestation of the social self-discovery which man is now making, and comes as the social creation of the world.

Since man first awoke to the consciousness of his being, social progress has been chiefly the development of the self-knowledge and independent powers of the individual. The freedom and equipment of the individual for a fair rivalry with his fellows has been the fundamental thought of modern political philosophy and activity. But we are now seeing that there can be no true individual development except through association; no individual freedom except through social unity. Through experience and suffering, with a knowledge too deep for

logic and too high for the understanding of a materialistic philosophy of society, the race is learning that it is not an aggregation of individuals, but one body, one humanity, of which all individuals are members ; that it is not natural, but the misapprehension and antagonism of nature, that these members should strive with each other for place and life in the body. We are in the beginnings of an evolution of human life that as truly transcends the self-consciousness of the individual, as the evolved and reasoning man transcends the animal kingdom. Men are no longer simply conscious that they can act as righteous or unrighteous individuals. The self-consciousness of society is the evolution now in process. There is slowly waking in men what might be called the consciousness of each other — the consciousness of a power to act together as one man, in the development of one common human life and destiny, to which all are to contribute, and of which all are to partake. The consciousness of one's own mind and powers is being transcended by the race consciousness of one universal mind

and spirit sovereign within all men, making them members one of another, and humanity a body of God. The education of the dawning social mind in the wisdom of the immanent social spirit is the work of the new age of creation at hand.

Society must henceforth be the end of political science and effort. Men are ceasing to believe, and can no longer be persuaded, that a condition of rivalry, in which they are supposed to act from an enlightened self-interest, is the real ground of social order and progress. The civilization that now builds upon the assumption that men are antagonists, and not members of one social body, is fundamentally anarchical — against the divine course of things. The politics that remains insensible to the waking social consciousness, the politicians who ignore the social conscience and make the holy watchwords of the past the hypocrisy and traffic of the present, will be but fuel for burning in the day of wrath that is coming to consume our trade politics and false social philosophies as stubble. Not individual liberty to compete,

and the equilibrium of warring self-interests, but the association of men in a communion of justice, is the work of the politics that would command the patience and win the respect of the people. The vision of brotherhood will not pass away, for it is heavenly. Politics must obey that vision, or the people will try obedience without politics, and a world-tragedy will have to be the school in which the nations shall learn their law and mission.

But revolution, in the historic sense of the word, cannot save civilization, even though revolution lie between us and our social salvation. We need some power sufficient to deliver us from the necessity, to save us the sorrow and waste of revolution. Notwithstanding Carlyle, revolutions go backward as well as forward. Though we sometimes foolishly imagine ourselves separated from the past by great fixed gulfs, the continuity of our one human development cannot be broken. We can only break with the past by getting ourselves out of the universe. The past is, and is to be; and the work of the present is to carry

the past, enlarged and sanctified, into the future. There has never been a great revolution, seeming to break with the past and make the earth new for an instant, from which there has not been a terrible recoil. Sooner or later the revolutionized nation, or civilization, has had to return upon its course and connect itself with the good substance of the evil forms from which it revolted. The continuity has had to be taken up again, the broken links reunited. The religious revolution we call the Reformation was a universal loss as well as a gain. And we are already beginning to see that the future power and purity of the church are involved in our recovering much that Protestantism threw away; in reuniting our broken fragments, our discordant sects of Christendom, in a true and holy universal church. We begin to see that the Reformation was a temporary, however needful, phase of the development of Christian history; that the Catholic Church of the fifteenth century was spiritually splendid and historic, with institutions which Protestantism needs; with

a wealth of sacrifice and spiritual glory which should be the inheritance of us all. The French Revolution is not ended yet; and France finds no rest, because the break of the nation with the past was so violent that the continuity of the national life has been lost for a time. Because France has tried to have no past, the nation has as yet no certain future. I doubt not we shall one day see that problems of national life we thought settled with the American Revolution and the formation of our constitution, will yet have to be reconsidered. Revolutions that come through enforced separation and war, notwithstanding their historical gains, always carry with them elements that react and curse, degrade and corrupt. The nation, the cause, that triumphs by the sword, takes death into its moral life quite as much as perished armies have taken death into the bodies of their soldiers.

Into the national mind there comes an occasional new and sobering thought of the cost of our Civil War, — the million slain; living thousands with injured bodies and souls and

lost opportunities; generations of sectional strife and race bitterness; a race turned into a freedom almost worse than slavery because of the shameful irresponsibility of the nation enslaving it; speculation and greed laying foundations for monstrous political corruptions and industrial despotisms; the patriotism, heroisms, and triumphs of the living and dead citizen-soldiers made the unholy traffic of political hypocrites, and sacred national memories traditionalized and desecrated to serve blind leaders of blind political parties; a century required to even measurably recover from the moral shock and ruin of the war. There was a better way to have preserved the Union, freed the slave, and purified the nation, if we had only known the day of our visitation in time. But we would not. So God walked in the path our nation made for his feet, because we would not walk in the path he made for ours.

War is not God's best way of progress for man — God's chosen channel for the increase of divine life in the nations — though the blindness and obstinacy of man make channels of

blood for the river of life to flow in and mingle. God has shown us a better way than revolution by force, — the eternal way of sacrifice, by which all progress sooner or later has to climb. The cross of his Son has revealed a mightier power than the power of arms, a more triumphant force than force, — the power and force and triumph of love, which never faileth to triumph, though it sacrifice all and suffer long. The divine development of both the personal life and the race life, the way in which civilizations are evolved from exhausted forms and customs, is through a new sacrifice and inflow of life. Not revolution, but divine evolution from the past, is the method of a better future, if we will follow the way of sacrifice and permit God to move his purposes therein. Revolution and separation mean ultimate anarchy and despotism, a last state worse than the first, unless the past is sacredly kept and speedily wrought into the future. The ruined man, the dying system, the decaying order of things, always has within the germ of the living and the new. A new spirit evolves life out of

death; a new purpose changes the way of wickedness into the highway of holiness; a new element turns darkness into light. It was a new disclosure of love upon the cross, a new revelation and spirit of life in the Son of man, a new manifestation of sacrifice as universal law, that evolved a living Christendom from an exhausted Roman world. Progress is a divine journey, a sacred pilgrimage, along a holy way of sacrifice, that is leading man into the freedom of God. When the nations have learned through suffering to walk in this way, then God's judgment days will be man's festivals of joy, as God would have them, not times of shame and dread and burning.

It is but just that we sacrifice ourselves in procuring justice for our fellow-dwellers in the present, and for the citizens of a holier future we shall not live to see. We may be misunderstood by our brothers, and they may refuse to move in the way and with the faith we know they ought to move. They may slay us, and trample upon the life we offer in their behalf. We may have to bear the consequences of their

sins, and be the bearers of their guilt. But we ought so to suffer for our brothers, and that with joy, while we entreat them to ascend the path that leads to justice and to peace. We are bound to expiate what is evil in the past, and preserve and carry on to our brothers what is good. We ourselves are the products of the past, and the sacrifice of the past is our strength and power now. None of us in the present are righteous, and the future will have to expiate our sins and correct our mistakes. It is unreasonable and unjust that we should seek to separate ourselves from the body of humanity of which we are members; from the divine course and cost of its progress. We can be neither true to the past nor just to the future, neither true nor just to our brothers of the present, save through the sacrifice of our present life in bearing away the sins of the past for the deliverance of the future. We cannot abide in the past — that is death. Nor can we break with the past — that is ultimate suicide. But our faith may, and it must, make future out of the past, through making the present a holy

gift and sacrifice to progress — which is the coming of the kingdom of God.

The testimony of history — to which the social movement is listening as has no other world movement — witnesses throughout to sacrifice as the power by which progress has been made. Underneath and within the revolutions and historic adjustments that have appeared to conquer, the structures of civilization are founded and upheld by those who have been faithful witnesses for the right against the wrong, while lifting no hand for the violent overthrow of the organizations of wrong. The almighty forces that are really working out our human destiny are largely unseen in their operation; but their work is clearly manifest in any pure view of the historic retrospect. Not the men who have brought down other lives with the sword, but the men who have laid down their own lives through an unresisting faith in the triumph of right through moral processes, have prepared the way for the advance of man. The world lives upon the lives of love that are given for its redemption and perfection.

Christianity more vitally and speedily conquered the world, and that against Roman organizations and legions, in the century of its sacrifice, than in all the succeeding centuries of ecclesiastical alliances with the forces of war and diplomacy. The failure of the faith of Christian institutions in the law and conquering power of sacrifice has been the calamity and sorrow of modern history ; the secret of all our social woe and perplexity. The revival of this compromised and decadent faith, the gathering of the forces of sacrifice upon the field of the social conflict, is the present hope and deliverance of the world.

Now, the most significant fact of this present social juncture and crisis of human affairs, when all recognize the inevitability and ongoing processes of revolution of some quality, and under some leadership, is the political faith in Jesus Christ that is rising from the waking social consciousness and increasing social purpose of the world. The social and consequent political revival of Christianity is the most significant fact of modern life, and

promises a divine and altogether new quality of revolution — revolution by the force of revelation — revolution come down to earth out of heaven. Not merely or mainly in institutions of religion does this awakened and practical faith in the righteousness of Christ appear, but in movements and forces that religious institutions largely ignore or hold in disrepute. Instinctively, the movements for association and social justice are turning to the person of Jesus as the social ideal that can alone satisfy the social aspiration which is the prayer of civilization. The multitudes believe, though they cannot define their belief, that the real Jesus is the one human life perfectly socialized and able to fulfil man's social nature. With a pathetic and almost inarticulate expectancy, they are waiting to be guided into the eternal order of life that Jesus revealed as the natural right and destiny of man upon the earth. Notwithstanding the false habits of religious feeling and doctrine associated with the teachings of Christ, there is everywhere a deepening and intensifying conviction that his mind is the mind that the

institutions of the world must receive in order to procure social justice. Christ is to-day the actual leader of the yet unorganized but rapidly developing political thought and effort of Western nations.

This political faith in Christ is the logical issue of the social movement. The whole social revolution, whatever has been or may be its accidents or incidents, is a steady divine movement toward order. The immediate intensity and strain of the revolution lie in the search and social determination for a deliverance from the present intolerable anarchy of human conditions. The revolution carries with it an increasing insistence upon the moral sacredness and just realization of law. The true worth and significance of law, which Jesus taught to be the education and growth of human life in justice, are being apprehended by the social revolution as by no other world movement. The political appearing and leadership of Christ is both the vital force of the social revolution, and the revelation of the law of its development. It is the profounder and

more universal realization of sacrifice, as the law of progress and order, association and freedom.

The political appearing of Christ is manifest in the increasing social functions of the state, and the socialization of law. There is a growing belief on the part of social reformers of all classes, that a juster order of society can be procured only through the state as the social organ; the state is the only organ through which the people can act collectively in the search for justice; hence all social reform is coming to effect itself through political action. With this turning to the state as the social organ, has risen an increasing faith in Christ as the social lawgiver; an increasing apprehension of his law of sacrifice as the fundamental law of society. It is thus that the various social reformations, without regard to the religious creeds of the reformers, are converging in an almost unconscious movement to translate the Christianity of Christ into political doctrines and institutions. Such necessity has been laid upon the social reforms

that they are being divinely compelled to accept the truth of Christ's law of love, by whatever name they may choose to call it, in order to escape their own failure and the social despair of the people.

The political appearing of Christ is thus more than a vision, and no dream, but the accomplished fact with which nations and institutions must begin to reckon, and the distinction and glory of our age. What makes this the most promising as well as critical hour of history, is the fact that all standards of right and wrong are coming to measure themselves by the one standard of Christ's teachings. Popular have far outrun institutional conceptions of justice, and men will no longer be content with any other kind of right than Christ's. The great undercurrents of popular feeling are moving toward Christ, and the deep undertones of social wrong are beginning to articulate political confessions of faith in his power to deliver. Crude and impure as is the faith of the multitudes who are turning to Jesus for social right and political truth, it is yet a faith

divinely inspired and full of hope for our nation and the world. Not understanding and hardly knowing the name of him it follows, the world is gone after Christ, and the Pharisees of official religion prevail nothing in keeping the people to the beaten paths. That religious officialism discerns not that it is the Christ of God the peoples are following is not strange, but the perfect continuity of all the divine ways of the past; neither in religion nor in politics do the official classes see the measure and meaning of the great movements that pass before their eyes. The social movement has never been other than the coming of Christ to rule the nations in righteousness, and the social effort of our day is becoming a political manifestation of Christ.

The historic coming and work of Christ were the eternal manifestation and enactment of sacrifice as the fundamental social law. The sacrifice of God had always been the life of men, and history a manifestation of his Spirit. The world was constituted in the law of sacrifice — the slain Lamb — before its foundation.

But not until this sacrifice of God in a completely humanized man, could we apprehend our social law and destiny so that God could perfectly socialize our human life. According to Christ's philosophy of life and association, the harmony and development of the individual life lie solely in the absorption of its interest and effort, in the fulfilment of a common and universal life, in which all are to share and become perfect. The mind of Christ is the mind that would make each life a sacrifice to the life of others, a contribution to the life of all. The righteousness of Christ was his perfect sacrifice for the world, and that sacrifice is the complete and eternal definition of righteousness. Sacrifice is the social law of gravity, in all the heavens, in the organization of life upon the earth. By no other law could there be a universe, and no other law has power to procure social unity among men. The mind of Christ is the one mind that has perfectly understood and obeyed this fundamental and universal law of association. His sacrifice manifests the character of all power and au-

thority, all government and order. It is the perfect utterance of the moral mind of God, and the disclosure of the whole moral nature of the universe. Infinite as is the unknown, man cannot conceive of anything in the unknown as different in nature and quality from the right manifested by Christ in sacrifice. Society is nothing else than the organized sacrifice of the people.

The associating and organizing power of the law of sacrifice was revealed through the reception of the Spirit by the first Christian community. After their Lord had been taken from them, and they were of one accord in the purpose to do whatever his Holy Spirit might reveal, there came upon a little company of those who believed in Christ, — one hundred and twenty men and women, — a profound immersion in his Holy Spirit ; so that their unholy spirit, with its unsocial, selfish, and individualistic desires, was driven out of them, and no man called anything his own, but offered himself and his all upon the altar of an entire devotion to human need. This was the

beginning of the ultimate civilization — the society that is becoming. So perfect was the social order of this little community, that its members defined their civilization, and the civilization which they hoped to get into the world, as the communion of the Holy Ghost. They meant by this that their minds and dispositions were perfectly agreed and accordant in the mind of God. They became of one mind, one spirit, truly associated, through receiving the Holy Spirit they had seen in Christ as the uniting, organizing spirit of them all. They were thus perfectly socialized — divinely communized. In that transcendent moment of human history the social order of heaven appeared upon the earth.

Through the centuries that have passed since then, — and they have quickly passed, — the Spirit of the Son of God has been changing human life and society into his likeness. The history of these centuries has been the political coming of Christ. Through the quickening and teaching of his Spirit, the world has been learning the wisdom that can make

its civilizations just, and the truth that can make its peoples free ; learning, in blind, stumbling ways, through experience and suffering, through failure and tragedy, and yet learning withal. The nations that have grown up through the Christian centuries are in a relation to Christ almost analogous to that which the members of the first community of disciples sustained to their Lord before their unity was fulfilled in his Spirit. The organizing Spirit of that community has been coming upon the community of the nations — slowly to our thought, and without observation. We are nearing, there is upon us, a dispensation of the Spirit, as much more comprehensive and powerful than the religious institutions of our day foresee, as the dispensation that immersed the early disciples was mightier and more comprehensive than what they sought. And such consummation is not a magical or extra-rational event, but the natural evolution of the socializing forces that have been at work since the first coming of the Son of man.

It may be that not until now could the social

ideal and law of Christ have a political interpretation and application. It may be that the Spirit in Jesus was greater than his idea, truer than his historical perspective. It is possible that he saw the consummation of the ages nearer than it was really to be; that what we shall be is not appearing as soon as he thought. Of the day of the full consummation, of the hour of the perfect organization of human life in the economy of redemption, the Son of man said he did not know; the time was known only to his Father. Even so, his sacrifice is increasingly apprehended and obeyed as the law of life, and his Spirit is the creative and directive power of the social movement. Without knowing by whom they are conquered, institutions are reluctantly yielding to the advancing Christ.

The Spirit of Christ may even again be crucified before our eyes by social revenge and hate. It may be we shall once more see Herod and Pilate and Caiaphas allied to overcome the Spirit that is destructive to their authority and dominion. But every such cru-

cifixion is a festival of new life for the world. That which is crucified becomes the resurrection life of man, and in the power of the increased life he ascends higher toward the goal of his social perfection. Though we may still have unsuspected saving lessons to learn, through baffled effort, through fearful disaster and visionless waiting, yet the Spirit of truth and judgment is leading to the perfect social day, and bids us abound in the hope of the social destiny which we have seen in Christ. The rude world, of which we are a part, is not old and hard, as the poets and prophets tell us, but very young, a mere child-world yet ; so young that the race is hardly more than beginning its real career, with but fitful glimpses and uninterpreted dreams of the power and beauty that await its full spiritual development. And this development is nothing else than the social perfection of man through the grace that is being brought to us by the larger revelations of Christ in the movements that are making our day instinct and glorious with the hope of God.

The discovery of Christ is the reality of our times. The people have found the Christ, — the great peoples collectively as well as men individually, — and are proclaiming their discovery to our economies and institutions. We have found him in the waking social consciousness; in the developing political thought; in the organizations and efforts to reform society; in the moral earnestness and social questioning that make both painful and glorious the upturned faces of great congregations, eager for original inspiration and vital truth; in the social trouble of both rich and poor, each seeking to know if there really be a kingdom of God and a way to realize it upon the earth; in the spiritual life with which our whole nation is quivering, preparing for a great reaping time soon; in his political appearing as Redeemer and Judge of our customs and organizations. Wherever we turn, whether to question or to help, we find the Christ in the need or the faith of men; in the social hope of the organizing social activities of the day.

The Christian who is mainly a religionist

has been indefinitely or indifferently telling us of a time when Christ will come to judge the world. But in the hour when we have thought not the Son of man has come, and now sits in actual judgment upon the world, with its civilizations waiting at his judgment seat. The Lord whom the leaders of official religion have sought in their worship and observances, and whom the political rulers have denied, has come to his temple in the movement for social justice. Upon foundations which cannot be moved, his judgment seat has been established by the social aspiration and faith, and his judgments will increase without end. Our eschatology need no longer be concerned with probations in the future, for the judgment day is come. We can no longer remove the judgment to some remote time, for the judgment is in process. It has already come to pass that civilization accepts Christ as its Judge, and that men and movements are submitting themselves to his judgments, without knowing from whence and by whom they are judged. Now is the crisis of this world, and the dominion

of self is being broken and his sovereignty cast from our midst before our unseeing eyes. Christ is here, to be both crucified and crowned, in our nation and age, in this room and hour; and all the voices of want and woe, of discontent and social anger, of strike and war, join with the voices of sorrow and judgment, of faith and love, in warning us that we should get ready for the social baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire. Instead of dreaming of some dim and distant millennium, we had best find our divine place and work in the millennium that has begun, and lift up our eyes to behold the King who is here in his abiding kingdom and eternal kingship. This solemn and historic hour of our national destiny has its awful significance, as well as immovable ground of hope, in the fact that Christ is actually ruling and judging our nation, inspiring and leading the reviving political faith of the people, while the political Sadducees are blindly and foolishly repeating that we have no king but the majority.

II.

THE CHRISTIAN STATE.

The evil at the present day is not that men assign too much value to life, but the reverse. Life has fallen in estimation, because, as at all periods of crisis and disorganization, the chain is broken which in all forms of belief attaches it through humanity to heaven. It has fallen, because the consciousness of mutual human responsibility, which alone constitutes its dignity and strength, being lost together with all community of belief, its sphere of activity has become restricted, and it has been compelled to fall back upon material interests, minor passions, and petty aims. It has fallen, because it has been too much individualized; and the remedy lies in re-attaching life to heaven, in raising it again, in restoring to it the consciousness of its power and sanctity. The means consist in re-tempering the individual life through communion with the universal life; they consist in restoring to the individual that which I have from the outset called the feeling of *the collective*, in pointing out to him his place in the tradition of the species, in bringing him into communion, by love and by works, with all his fellow-men. By isolating ourselves, we have begun to feel ourselves feeble and little; we have begun to despise our own efforts and those of our brethren towards the attainment of the ideal; and we have in despair set ourselves to repeat and comment upon the "*Carpe diem*" of the heathen poet. We must make ourselves great and strong again by association; we must not discredit life, but make it holy. By persisting to search out the secret, the law of individuality in the individuality itself, man ends only in egotism, if he is evil-minded — in scepticism, in fatalism, or in contemplation, if he is virtuous. — *Joseph Mazzini.*

II.

THE CHRISTIAN STATE.

I NEED but to appeal to your intelligent consideration of history, to your consciousness of the world within you, and your observation of the world without, to have you confess with me that the world is far less institutionally governed than we commonly assume. It is a superficial and puerile explanation of the world that accredits human order to visible religious and political institutions, which at best are but rude indications of an order that is unseen and almighty. It is not the laws upon statute books that procure the most of the right and justice that are in the world, nor the power of churches that moves the bravest and holiest lives to lay themselves down for the world. Nation is not withheld from nation through fear of standing armies, and we do not go to

our rest at night through faith in the police. The forces that execute the penalties of broken laws are applied to but a small fraction of the earth's population, and are often the cause of more lawlessness than lawfulness. Socially organic and permanent as institutions are, it is not their forces and customs that restrain the wrong passions of men, and constrain them to think and act for the good of their fellows. The thousand conflicting interests have not even their semblance of adjustment through the powers that are seen. While the great world movements for righteousness have always been born within institutions, their consciousness has always been of an order of progress transcending and overcoming the institutions within which they were born. Any scientific interpretation of history, any faithful analysis of progress, can end only in witnessing to the supreme fact of the unseen government of the world. An honest account of human order, of the evolution of society, of the world movement and change in which we of the present are caught, compels us to ac-

knowledge that man is invisibly governed by laws he has not yet apprehended, though they have apprehended him. The real government of the world, in the midst of which we live and move and have our progress, is a government not made by man, nor yet comprehended by his thought, though his movements are the inspiration of its wisdom, and the compulsion of its powers. Yet though this divine government of the world be unseen, it has been the only actual dominion over man; and there is no escape from conscious or unconscious accountability to its judgments. History bears witness to the fact that all along its path unseen forces have been at work, judging and delivering men from their divisions and tyrannies, evolving in them a common consciousness of unity, and directing them toward one common destiny.

Institutions are ordained to be the organs of the communion of the people with the divine government that is above and within them. The end of institutions is to progressively apprehend and interpret the laws of this govern-

ment, and increasingly apply its forces to the more perfect organization of human life. As progress ascends, life will tend to form itself in more and more perfect and universal organizations, through obedience to the invisible government of which institutions are sent to be the visible manifestation. It is the failure to apprehend and obey the divine order, to discern and move with the movement of history toward unity, that has corrupted institutions, bringing them into conflict with progress, causing them to be absorbed in the increase of their own dominion, instead of the increase of life among men; causing them to mistake means for the end, scaffoldings for the temple, instead of devoting themselves to the building of the divine temple of a perfected humanity.

The want of a common centre of unity to associate the energies and institutions of men in a collective and harmonious progress toward a common fulfilment of life, has been the fundamental ailment of the world; the cause of its divisions and murders, its lusts and wars, its anarchies and tyrannies. No one has ex-

pressed this want with such understanding and moral emphasis as Joseph Mazzini, the purest and wisest of modern political teachers. Yet Mazzini, the apostle of association to the present world as truly as Paul was the apostle of redemption to both his own world and ours, failed in that he found no centre of unity, as Paul found a living centre for the economy of redemption. And there can be no unity without some living centre that can comprehensively organize the faiths and activities of men, their sciences and policies, under one law of intelligence and action, and move them in one common development of life.

There have been arbitrary centres of unity, serving their purpose in the progress of the world, but becoming centres of confusion and disintegration at the moment when unity seemed to be accomplished. All the arbitrary centres of unity, political and religious, have their prophetic symbol in the Tower of Babel. However they have begun, they have ended in becoming centres in which men have tried to subdue God unto themselves, and gain power

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without righteousness, rather than submit themselves to the righteousness of God. The failures of history, the catastrophes of great powers, the stubbornness and rebellion of man, have their secret in this search for unity, external to the spiritual being of social consciousness of humanity. Men have sought a unity of phenomena rather than of life; a unity of expediency rather than of faith; a unity of rights rather than of righteousness; a unity of agreement rather than of truth; a unity in some other government of the world than the kingdom of association — which is the organization of love, giving justice, and making free. From the Tower of Babel down to the creeds of modern Christendom and the institutions of modern democracies, the promises and appearances of unity, external to the spiritual centre of human life, have been leading men to successive confusions and disasters. It is possible for our vast modern civilization, deceiving us with its splendor and degrading us with its power, to become the greatest of the Babels, — the sphere of universal confusion. It has

proved a strong delusion to lead us to put faith in the lie, that material forces can organize the unity of the world in a social order of enlightened self-interest. The race has not yet learned to learn obedience save by the things which it suffers.

Out of the long effort to achieve a unity other than spiritual and social, a unity of equally balanced interests rather than a unity of life, have been born the expediencies that promised unity only to give anarchy. All expediencies between right and wrong are the very profundity and subtlety of falsehood, and are grounded upon unfaith in right, and faith in power. They have in them that thought of God as a God of the dead rather than the living, and the hope of cheating the truth and defeating retribution. Man after man fails, institution after institution rises and exhausts itself, reform after reform pours its tides of divine passion over the world, and leaves desolation as well as purification in its ebb, because men believe and practise the dissociating doctrine that unity is to be found in

the adjustment of antagonisms rather than in the association of men in right. In an untranslated political writing, which seems to have been the channel of Mazzini's deepest inspiration, Dante has said: "Humanity is one. God has created no useless thing. Humanity exists; hence there must be a single aim for all men, a work to be achieved by all. The human race must, therefore, work in unity, so that all the intellectual forces diffused among men may obtain the highest possible development in the sphere of thought and action." The search for unity upon the ground that men are antagonists rather than brothers, that self-interest is the highest personal or national motive, can achieve only expediencies and disappointments, and end in the confession that justice and peace are demons of delusion and torment, and that evil is law and lord of the world.

Yet there must be for man a centre and bond of universal unity. If we be rational beings, if this be a sane universe, if life and history have any meaning, there must be some

common vision of a common destiny that has power to converge the innumerable and divergent efforts, the cross purposes and conflicting motives, the institutions and schools of religion and politics, and move them in one universal harmony of progress. Nothing less than such a vision, commanding a common obedience, can associate men in a collective pursuit of righteousness, and organize them in a conscious movement toward the fulfilment of the unity of life. That the race will never rest short of such a unity as its goal is the one sure word of the past to the present. Above the conflict and discord, within the confusion and the dark, the God of order and light has been marshalling and harmonizing the forces of our one human life for their supreme travail and triumph in the accomplishment of the divine and abiding community of the world.

It is the mission of the state to discover this centre and accomplish this unity of man. The state is the only organ through which the people can act as one man in the pursuit of righteousness; the only organ through which

the people can act together in the organization and perfection of their common life in justice. The state can have no other meaning than the interpretation and execution of the mind of God toward the people. It must be the organized faith of the people; the manifestation of the highest right of which the people have knowledge in common; the organ of their common consciousness of God. It is ordained to be the visible institution of the unseen government of the world; the medium through which the law and order of God are received and wrought out in progress. If there is a purpose in history, the state must be the organ for the accomplishing of that purpose; the organ of the national inspiration and collective effort of the people toward social perfection. It lies in the nature of man and in the nature of association, that the state shall be the organ through which the inspiration to associate shall be received and by which it shall be effected. The socializing spirit can realize itself only through the sacrament of political action. There can be no continuous development of a nation's life

except its institutions progressively express the faith and organize the social reason of the people.

The mission of the state is not fulfilled, but rather begun, in the liberty of the individual. Liberty is but a means to the divine social end. If liberty is not fulfilled in unity, then liberty was the consummation of the supreme design of evil powers. And if liberty means no more than the right to strive with each other for material gain or intellectual superiority; if the state can do no more than foster a civilization founded in such a freedom, then the evolution of present civilization from feudalism was the irreparable ruin of the world. The conception that freedom consists in the protection of men from one another in social antagonisms, rather than in their association with each other in social sacrifice, can never bring forth any order but that of tyranny and slavery. The worship of Baal and Moloch was relatively no more degrading and dehumanizing than the conception of the state as a commercial compact

and secular institution, with only police functions to procure individual liberty and protect property. If the state has fundamentally and finally any business that is not comprehended in the discovery and organization of society in the highest right known to man, and the redemption of man from all known wrong, then the state is a fraud and a tyranny, and has no right to exist and have authority over man.

And there are not two kinds of right, one for the state and another for the individual. A first step toward social justice and political virtue must be the emancipation of society from bondage to the evil imagination that there are different kinds of right. If there is a principle of right anywhere in the universe, it is right everywhere, or there is no universe of God, and there can be no unity of man. The wicked fancy that there are different standards of right for different spheres of life is the essence of anarchy; it is the destruction of both faith and order. There is not one kind of right for God and another for man;

one for the church and another for the market; one for the individual and another for the state; one for men acting individually, and another for men acting collectively, as a political commonwealth or a financial corporation. There is not a religious quality of right distinct from a political or economic quality of right. If there is any right at all, it must be both universal in operation and universally particular in application. The will of God cannot be any different on earth from the will of God in the heavens. Whatever principle of right is authoritative to a man's moral reason, in the inmost consciousness of his being, is unmodified and no less commanding when he enters the market, the stock exchange, or the municipality, as an economic or social resident. If I am my brother's keeper as a religious man, I am equally my brother's keeper as an economic or political man, bound to make my place of business, and the nation of which I am a member, each the keeper of my brother. If there is a divine law of service in my conscience that compels me to seek work for my brother, that

he may earn bread, then that law is equally authoritative when men act collectively as a state; and the state as a moral being, and as the social organ, is bound to procure work by which its citizens may find bread. Nothing is so unreasoning and fatal to both Christianity and the nation as the notion, which the fear of the older socialism begets, that it is dangerous and destructive for men to organize, to act together for their common welfare — making the strength of each the common blessing of all, instead of each wasting much of his own and his neighbor's life in exclusiveness and conflict. There is in the way of progress no worse religious and political infidelity, obstructive to both Christianity and democracy, than the idea that men can practise a kind of right that is saving in limited individual action, but destructive to order if practised by men collectively in organized action. The religious and political selfishness that so wickedly seeks to foster and strengthen this idea is betraying both the church and the nation. Except the state become the organ of the law which God has

written in the moral reason of the world with the instrument of the cross, it cannot fulfil its mission in the association of men in that quality of justice which constitutes the divine unity of human life.

Now, the force that is most strongly unifying and centralizing the faith and effort of the world is the social revelation of human life in Jesus Christ. The one universal fact of progress is that humanity is conscious of a quality of right potential within, which finds its perfect incarnation, expression, and development in the moral nature of Jesus. The person of Christ exhausts the possibilities of human comprehension and consciousness. If we could pierce the hate and strife, the vice and shame, the selfishness and institutional power, the self-deceit and fraudulent sincerity, the theology and scepticism, of the world mind of this moment, we would find it to be a Christ mind. There is not a school of religion, philosophy, or politics that will not to-day agree that the mind of Jesus is the right mind to have. Brahmin and Jew, agnostic and theologian, Chris-

tian and Mohammedan, will confess that the spirit of Christ is the best and most unifying spirit the world knows. Many will deny that his right is practicable. Some will say that Gautama and others taught the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount before Jesus' time. By some the authenticity of the records of his life will be denied. The mere theologian will sternly direct us to a way of salvation through metaphysics rather than right. Yet if we could get men to forget a while the things upon which they disagree, if we would put away our partisanships and rid our minds of the weighty irrelevancies of theology, we would find universal agreement that the mind of Christ, actually received and practised as the spirit of human action and institutions, would procure that perfect justice which would secure perfect peace. The mind of Christ is the disclosure of the hidden mind of humanity, and his person the prophecy of our yet ungrown human race. The waking social consciousness of the world is the evolution of the Christ mind of man; it is the race coming to

a consciousness of its Christ nature and Christ destiny. Of all the world's teachers, no one but Jesus has presented a philosophy of life that universally appeals to the common spiritual sense. His person interprets man's social nature, and satisfies the increasing social thought and faith. He alone has given and defined a science of human association, of society, that comprehends all the interests of man, and converges all social forces. Jesus is the personal fulfilment, the objective revelation, of the social potentiality of the race. Of the invisible government of the world, of the nature of its authority and the end of its dominion, of the character of its laws with their retributive and redemptive forces, of the destiny and unity toward which man is being borne, the person and sacrifice of Jesus are the complete and eternal disclosure.

The state, then, must become Christian if it is to be the organ of the social unity which is the present search and determination of the peoples, and which it is the true mission of the state to accomplish. Except the state be born

again, except it be delivered from pagan doctrines of law and government, from commercial and police conceptions of its functions, from merely individualistic theories of freedom, it cannot see the divine social kingdom, without which it cannot itself endure and increase. If the state would be saved from the wrath of the rising social passion, it must believe on Christ as its Lord, and translate his sacrifice into its laws. Our institutions must become the organized expression of Christ's law of love, if the state is to obey the coming social conscience that is to command great moral revolutions in political thought and action. For society is the organized sacrifice of the people.

I see nothing strange or unreasonable about the proposal to make the mind of Christ the mind of our legislation and organizations. If such a mind as Christ's can inspire and direct the whole action of one man, it is not impossible or incomprehensible that such a mind should inspire men collectively and politically. It does not seem mystical to me to believe that the mind of Christ shall become the creative

spirit of political action, and express itself in the statutes of the state. The state does not need to legislate in religious phraseology in order to be the social organ of the Christian life of the people, or translate the clear principles of Christ's law of human relations into our national ideals and development. When I speak of society or the state receiving the mind of Christ as the mind of political action and social unity, I mean the common faith and will of men to fuse their differences, justify their inequalities, universalize their interests, communize their aims and efforts, in making the quality of right that was in Christ's mind and action, the power and element, the mind and spirit, of political association and collective action. I know of no other kind of justice that will give social peace, or truth that will give political freedom, than the justice and truth personalized and disclosed in Jesus. It is because I seek a just social order, which can come only through political organization and action, that I speak in the name of Jesus as the only name given among men whereby the

state can fulfil its mission in being the organ through which God shall make society whole.

Not only must the state become Christian, but Christianity must become political. The only way by which Christianity can, in the largest sense, be put into practice is through possessing the state as its organ — the one organ of both Christianity and society. Christianity needs the state for its realization as much as the state needs Christianity for its redemption and perfection. Christianity can supply the only forces that can procure social justice, and the state is the only organ through which these forces can work constructively upon and within the whole people. There can be no adequate actualization of Christianity in the world except it actualize itself in the political life of the nation. The people can never be wholly Christian until the state become the organized Christianity of the people. The unity of the whole people with God in the mind of Christ must proceed through the state. It is through the state that Christianity will have to organize the people in the social order

of the communion of the Holy Ghost. The Christian state will be the political realization of Christ's quality of right, which has been surely proceeding in its conquest of the world, in spite of the apostasies and betrayals, the divisions and tyrannies, that are the misery and shame of Christendom. Jesus Christ is the ruler of the kings of the earth, and Christianity is sent to discipline the nations and their governments.

The notion that the union of religion and politics can be only evil is as morally insane as the notion that only evil can come from the union of God and man. It is not the unity of religion and politics that brings degradation and tyranny, but the false unity of unspiritual religion and immoral politics. And the cure for this false unity is not the disunion of religion and politics, but the unity of religion and politics in the mind of Christ. For the two are one and not two; and the conception of religion as being non-political, and of politics as being non-religious, is the blasphemy with which a material civilization turns the people

from the worship of the living God to the worship of idols of wood and stone, of iron and gold, and of cunning devices of the covetous mind. The state is a religious organism. Politics is religion, true or false, and nothing else. Human institutions are the organization of religion of some quality, whether we would have it so in theory or not. The people act politically what they believe religiously. The politics of the people is a living record of their religious faith. Whatever the religion may be, whether it be politically acknowledged or not, the state is the realized religion of the people. Though the church should be pure enough to be the organ through which Christ's social forces come, it is through the state that the Christian religion must realize the perfect society of the kingdom of God.

The realization upon the earth of the kingdom of heaven, in the light of whose truth the nations shall walk and the people grow in knowledge, will be the fundamental idea in the evolution of the Christian state. The glory and authority of the state will be fulfilled in

preparing the way of that kingdom, whose freedom will not consist in making men independent of each other, but in associating them in the dependence that is divine and universal. Out of his love for the world God gave to it the state to be the organ through which he should execute the justice of love among the collective peoples, and bring them into the unity of the one perfect law of service revealed and interpreted in the sacrifice of Christ.

A Christian political philosophy will conceive anew our doctrines of the relations of nations to one another. The nation is a social being. The nation that is Christian will not live unto itself, but be the witness of Christ to the nations that have not received his mind as their power and justice. The nation is under the same obligation to sacrifice itself for the redemption of the world that Jesus was. It must be the missionary of the kingdom of God to the nations that walk not yet in the light of that kingdom. The nation is the keeper of neighbor nations as truly as man is the keeper of his brother. Selfishness

is as suicidal to the nation, in the policy of the state, as it is wicked and destructive in the life of the individual. The nation can no more prosper selfishly, or protect itself at the expense of other nations, without the eventual corruption of its own being, than the man. A Christian national policy would compel the state, as the organ of the nation's being, not only to refrain from doing evil to neighbor nations, but to do them good. As a Christian nation, we are as bound to sacrifice ourselves in procuring justice for Japan, in giving freedom to the Russians, in helping to save united Italy from disaster, in protecting Armenian Christians, as we are to defend our shores against a foreign invasion. I do not mean that our national efforts to save should be military, but profoundly Christian and divinely insistent. The state can neither become nor remain Christian without becoming the witness and apostle to all nations of the divine government of the world which Jesus disclosed. The Christian state is ordained of God to establish and fulfil the authority and unity of

his Christ within and between the nations, so that his kingdom may fully come. The principle of non-intervention, which has been our national boast and conceit, if practised long enough, would end in dissolution within and destruction from without. The principle is essentially pagan, and is a rejection of the kingdom of God and the authority of his Christ. The law of the cross which Jesus disclosed, commanded, and obeyed is as authoritative to the state as to the person; it is personal, national, and universal law. And except the state believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and become the political organization of his sacrifice, it can neither save nor be saved in the social trial that is coming to try the whole inhabited earth.

I see in our land the beginnings of a great political movement, inspired for the purpose of translating the righteousness of Christ into the legislation of the nation, and the making of his mind the national political sense. This movement will not make a declaration of independence, and will raise no cry for rights;

it will begin with a confession of the mutual dependence of all men, and issue a sacred call for the fellowship of sacrifice. Association, not individual liberty, will be the movement's watchword and hope of glory. It may be a while among the despised things of the world, but it will fulfil the apostle's vision of the mighty Michael and his hosts of warrior angels casting out the great dragon which symbolizes the worship of material forces. I believe that this political movement of Christianity, divinely sustained through the testimony and sacrifice of its servants who love not their life unto death, will finally travail and prevail in a new birth of our government, and begin the Christian state which will realize in our nation the divine government of the world which Jesus disclosed.

III.

THE CHRISTIAN STATE

THE

SOCIAL REALIZATION OF DEMOCRACY.

THE stupid cry has come down through all the ages, and we hear it yet, "Don't disturb the existing order of things. Leave matters alone." There can be no advance of the human race without a change in the existing order of things. Popular education has been and always will be the great disturber and improver of the existing order of things. Diffusion of human knowledge, and change in the existing order of things, have come down from the twilight of fable hand in hand. The existing order of things may be the worst possible order of things. The existing order of things crucified Jesus because he was a denouncer of the existing order of things; and in this enlightened nation the existing order of things, even during the lifetime of those of us who are still called young, was that one human being might own another, and good men were mobbed and killed for objecting to it. We owe all that we have to the steady advance of the human race against the compact mass of those who have always cried out, and still cry out as lustily as ever, "Don't disturb the existing order of things."

My friends, we can well take home with us from here a subject for grave thought. This meeting is for the grave purpose of raising money to give in charity, not to the lame, the sick, or the helpless, but to healthy, strong, and skilful men, able and anxious to work to get food, clothing, and shelter, but who cannot get work to do. Let this meeting remind us, and let us never forget, that while the human race has advanced, while the condition of men has steadily grown better, our social system is still imperfect. Can it be that in the wisdom of the Godhead there is not some social and political system under which it would be impossible for any man to starve to death, simply because he could not get work to do with his hands, when the earth possesses and produces much more than abundance for all? Let us not doubt it, but assist in moving forward to it. Mankind is advancing on toward perfection. It has not reached the goal. Let us not be content to believe that everything is just as it ought to be, and also cry out, "Leave things as they are; change nothing;" but let us listen, read, and inquire. Let us give heed to those who point out what they claim are the fundamental defects or wrongs in our system which make possible the distressing fact which calls us together to-night, and thus let the social and political evolution of mankind continue onward and upward. Certainly there are causes for the condition which makes us assemble here. What are they? Let us not be afraid to inquire. — *Judge William J. Gaynor.*

III.

THE CHRISTIAN STATE THE SOCIAL REALIZATION OF DEMOCRACY.

The work of the Christian apostle is not to create a new social order, but to discover and interpret the divine order that has been the government of human life from its beginning. Men are seeking to construct a juster society; but the order of absolute justice was established in the sacrifice of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. Men are looking for the kingdom of God, and would hasten its coming; but the kingdom of our God has come, and the authority of his Christ is here, judging and ruling the nations. There has been no other government of the world, no other order of society among men, than the kingdom of God; all else has been disorder and anarchy. The social difficulties and perplexities that

threaten and baffle, the political strain that our institutions are not ready to meet, are the fruits of our forgetfulness, disobedience, and unbelief toward the real government of God in which we live. The saving work to be done is the renewal of our faith in the divine order; the quickening of our sense of its presence and power; the revealing to our minds of its justice and peace. The true science of society will discover and interpret the social forces of the kingdom of heaven that is on the earth, and apply them to our disturbed social conditions. A Christian political philosophy will teach us how to translate Christ's law of sacrifice into economic association and political organization, into the statutes of the state; so that the state shall become the visible incarnation and expression of the invisible divine government of the world which Jesus made known and established anew.

The political realization will be a pure democracy. Christianity can realize itself in a social order only through democracy, and democracy can realize itself only through the social forces

of Christianity. A pure social democracy is the political fulfilment of Christianity; the political organization of Christ's law of love; the order through which faith in the right manifests itself in the freedom of man. The old Hebrew idea of God dwelling in the midst of the people constituted in a free commonwealth expresses the fact and method of democracy. The true democracy is still better defined by the apostolic term, "the communion of the Holy Ghost," by which term is meant the concord of the people in righteousness; the government of the people by a spirit of unity within, rather than by a dominion over them. History is the progressive disclosure of the self-government of the people as the providential design. Christianity in its fulfilment is the self-government of the people through communion with God, through the surrender of the common will to do the righteous will expressed in Christ. It is the historical and providential idea that God shall lead the people by his Spirit of right as his sons, governing them inspirationally rather than institutionally.

Institutions that are democratic in fact, will be organs that shall both inspire and obey the people, rather than organs of dominion with the people for their servants. The end of democracy is the political redemption and perfection of man in the human life revealed in Christ.

Nothing can be more presumptuous than the literature which treats of the triumph or failure of democracy. As yet democracy can scarcely be considered to have been an experiment. It has not been tried. A government of the people by the people is a dream yet to be realized. There do not exist any purely democratic institutions. Wherein democracy has been thought triumphant, it has been the triumph of expediencies substituted for democracy; wherein it has failed, something less than democracy has been the experiment.

We Americans are not a democratic people. We do not select the representatives we elect; we do not make our own laws; we do not govern ourselves. Our political parties are controlled by private, close political corporations

that exist as parasites upon the body politic, giving us the most corrupting and humiliating despotisms in political history, and tending to destroy all political faith in righteousness. Our legislation is determined by a vast system of lobby. The people know, though they cannot prove, that our legislative methods have become the organization of indirect bribery and corruption. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the chief work of both State and National legislatures in recent years has been to obstruct, defeat, or cheat the will of the people. Instead of being democratically governed, we are under the government of political and legislative bureaucracies that dominate, plunder, and oppress by an indirection that conceals both the reality and the nature of the dominion, corruption, and oppression. Our American Senate, with members openly and shamelessly elected as the virtual agents of vicious corporate properties, has been seriously reminding us of the court of Louis XVI. The moral tone of our politics has become so low, and the power of immoral wealth so subtle and strong, that we have al-

most ceased to think of our institutions as having any relation to political morality. Though we have constitutional means for overthrowing our present system of government by political bureaucracies and corporate wealth, and realizing a true government by the people, we are scarcely trying to utter our real political thought and faith through our institutions. The politicians who control our political organizations are ignorant of what the people really think and believe. They are largely insensible to the rising tide of social feeling and purpose that will yet sweep away the foundations of political faith and order, unless recognized and received as a national regeneration. A great political uprising, like that under the leadership of Dr. Parkhurst in New York, while a cause for profound national gratitude and hope, has yet a sad significance in the fact that it is the result of an extra-governmental organization to protect the people from the official administration of an existing government. And this extra-governmental organization has been performing the

highest functions of the great municipal government within which it exists. So throughout the land, organizations which are virtually governments within governments are rapidly forming to perform the holiest duties of governmental offices, which were instituted to protect the people in freedom and perfect them in justice, but have become the instruments of lawlessness and oppression. Necessitated by the surrender which the people have made of their authority and institutions to usurping political corporations, organizations are being effected by aroused citizens to protect themselves from the administration of governments which should be the organized virtue of the people.

The jobbers in politics, making the affairs of the public well-being their political stock exchange, strive to create the impression that they represent the actual political faith of the people. Through deceiving the people they have procured an increasing centralization of political power. It is this centralization of power, used mainly to serve for political and

material profit the interests of privileged classes, that has caused the political degradation and indolence of the people. Only the responsibility of power educates the people to administer power, and reveals the common moral worth. Not the centralization, but the diffusion of power is the safety of the present; it is also the lesson of history and the divine method of procedure. Unbelief in God is no more fatal to freedom and progress, to justice and right, than unbelief in the people. Only through becoming the organ of the common faith and aspiration, the common life, the holy life, the moral well-being, the common wholeness, of the whole people, can the State endure the social strain and change, and prove its right to be. Such it can become only through the realization of the democracy that will politically organize the people in the order of life begun with the birth of the Christ man.

We can no more stop the progress of democracy where it now is than we can take the race back to the garden of Eden. From the idea of

the absolute monarch, we have progressed to the idea of representative institutional government. But we have scarcely reached the halfway house of political progress. We shall have to move on to the goal, which is the fulfilment of democracy in the direct self-government of the people. In a pure democracy the people will be their own legislators, making their own laws directly, or through an elective and representative system that will receive and effectuate in legislation the actual will of the people. Existing representative legislation and representative government are as distinctly two forms of government as the absolute and the limited monarchy. There can be no true democracy with present systems of representative legislation. And these have accomplished the beginnings of their own doom. There have been few important measures before our state or national legislatures during the last decade which could not have been passed upon by the people themselves with intelligence and character, with thoroughness and directness, wholly beyond the moral or intellectual comprehension

of the men, many of them virtually self-chosen, now legislating as the people's representatives.

A step toward the political realization of democracy would be the change of our representative system so as to secure proportional representation. Our legislative district order of representation, arbitrarily and corruptly managed in the interests of the particular politicians in power, instead of with a view to providing for the immediate and accurate expression of the will of the people, practically deprives a large proportion, often a majority, of the people of any representation in the affairs of legislation. For instance, in the State of Iowa, of which State I am a citizen, in the election of 1892, the 219,215 votes cast by one political party elected ten members to our national Congress; while the 201,293 votes cast by another party elected but one congressman; and two minor parties were without representation. Fully if not more than one-half of the people of Iowa were thus unrepresented, and doubtless misrepresented, in the popular and more democratic branch of the national legisla-

ture. The instance I have noted simply indicates — though many more glaring instances could be cited — the utter caricature of representative government which our legislative district system has procured. It has put the whole legislation of our land, both State and National, into the keeping of the political bureaucracies — the speculators who thrive and fatten through marketing the rights and well-being of the people to corporate properties, while the people are made to think themselves represented in legislation. By recent elections, more than one-half of the people in the United States are not represented in the national councils, because of our district systems and party control of legislation. Really, we are not representatively governed, and the majority does not rule. Representative legislation and government are a fiction, so far as our nation is concerned. The majority of our citizens, not far from two-thirds at present, are virtually disfranchised, and we are under the government of minorities; the majority is without power to effect legislation. Prof. John R. Commons

of Indiana University, whom I regard as our most promising and divinely opportune political economist, and who has made an exact and thoughtful study of the subject of proportional representation, says: "True representative government does not exist. We have a sham representation. It gives a show of fairness; but it is crude and essentially unfair. It does not represent the people. It represents the politicians. We are a law-abiding people. Yet our laws are made by a minority of the people, and by an irresponsible oligarchy more dangerous than that our fathers revolted against." The only possible deliverance from this oligarchic and minority government is in some form of proportional representation that will enable all parties and degrees of political and even religious opinion, according to the votes cast by each, to be represented in National, State, and municipal councils. It is through a system of proportional representation, and the system of electing from any borough, any strong man, from any part of the United Kingdom, that England has made such strides in popular gov-

ernment, and that the people there have been able to effectuate their will far more accurately and immediately than the people of the United States. Through proportional representation, it is now commonly agreed, the people of England are in reality altogether more democratically governed than the people of America, notwithstanding what remains to England of feudalism. In the English Parliament the Irish minority, the temperance minority, the single-tax minority, the labor minority, the Radical minority, the Roman Catholic minority, are all represented. A just proportional representation in our nation, with certain of the initiative and referendum features of legislation conjoined, would give to the people a representative system that might practically prove to be, would indeed virtually be, the direct legislation of the people for the people, and would initiate and preserve a true political democracy. Then the people would grow in political knowledge and virtue, with the purifying sense and divine moral dignity of responsibility. And the education in justice which association in de-

mocracy would give, with the continued trial of faith in righteousness which the mutualism of power would procure, would develop in the people the wisdom and forces of their common moral reason, their now waking social consciousness, which is nothing else than the intelligence of the Spirit of God, inspiring, enlightening, and directing the mind and affairs of man toward the unity of the race.

But democracy only begins its real struggle and work in becoming political; it must become social. Unless democracy retreat from the field of progress, it must take possession of the industrial world. The government of the future will be mainly concerned with the social being and industrial association of the people. Political freedom can realize itself only through industrial freedom. The life of man is objectively an economic life. In the sphere of production and distribution is the common life fulfilled. Production is communion with God; the producer is God's co-worker. Distribution is human fellowship; it is the method by which justice unites men. Until

democracy be the order of production and distribution, it will be an illusive philosophy and baffled effort, and industrial slavery will be the inevitable lot of millions. It is unreasonable, and morally intolerable; it is the social continuation of the old absolutism, that the well-being of the people should depend, as it in large measure does depend under the present economy, upon the will of the few who possess the quality of power essential to reaping the harvest of the common toil, and whose authority consists in the possession of material things. The people must finally own and distribute the products of their own labor, and economic democracy must now be the search of political wisdom that would command an intelligent respect and the social patience.

The acceptance of any theory of human life that is really Christian, inevitably demands a society based upon mutualism in the responsibility of all for the whole life of each, as against the animal theory of competition. The condition of competition is inconsistent with both Christianity and democracy. Neither

Christianity nor democracy can be realized, or make much farther progress, except through the progressive association of men in an economic commonwealth. A true social democracy is the only ultimate political realization of Christianity, and industrial freedom through economic association is the only Christian realization of democracy. The economy of competition must come to an end, or both democracy and Christianity will come to an end, and the hope of justice be lost in social despair.

The assumption of competition as the law of life and development has been the fatal mistake of the social and economic sciences. Competition has been the condition of much of the struggle for life it is true, but not its law. The struggle for life has never been fundamentally competitive, and is on its way to become wholly altruistic. In his book of revelation called "The Ascent of Man," Professor Drummond clearly shows the dogma of competition as the chief law of natural growth to be a misreading of nature; he discerns that in nature it is the co-operative forces that pre-

vail. A more scientific interpretation of history than we have had, will reveal the altruistic and sacrificial forces to have been the makers of progress. All the sciences may one day reveal to us, in one way and another, that competition has been always and everywhere destructive to life, and the foe of development. Competition is in fact the negation of society; and such society as we have exists through the restriction of competition. The evolution of society is the elimination of competition through the progressive introduction of altruistic forces.

Even if competition were once good, it is not now good. There no longer exists an honest expectation of freedom or justice in a competitive system based upon what is practically an exclusive private ownership of property. Notwithstanding our competitive philosophy, the natural and unalterable result of the system is the wealth and power of the few, and the poverty and social oppression of the many; the exploitation of the truly industrious by the speculative and cunning; the toil of the millions to produce social benefits possessed

by the tens. The life of the economic people thus becomes not only a struggle for existence, but a fearful social chance. The average workman, though an independent wage-earner and politically free, is less certain of food for his family than was the feudal slave of some kind of food. No thrift or integrity, no faithfulness to work or uprightness of character, can guarantee men against loss of employment in the present system of competitive industrialism, issuing in the social irresponsibility and absolutism of the strongest competitor.

By its ability to accomplish the development of the individual, must every civilization and institution be judged. The full development of each individual life is the true end of civilization, and no order has a right to our acceptance which presents any other social motive or aim. The end of the civilization at which the collectivist aims is not, as some ignorantly and others wickedly say, the rejection, but the salvation, of the individual. It is just this individual development that our competitive civilization fails to either justly or adequately procure. The

triumphs of the competitive struggle have lain more in the elimination than in the introduction of practicable and Christian opportunity for the development of the individual life. In the present strain and anxiety of the struggle for home and bread, not one in many has any adequate opportunity for individual development. The social stress and uncertainty which consume the life and faith alike of the successful and the unsuccessful, make against the rational and holiest development of spirit, mind, and body. Were it not for the pathos of human life under any aspect it presents in the existing order of things, and the moral tragedy of it all as men crush and grind and devour one another in the competitive struggle, — eating each other's flesh and drinking each other's blood, making each other homeless and indirectly starving each other's children, — it would be indeed a divine comedy to disclose the opportunities for individual development presented by modern industrialism. How many of the thousands toiling to-night in sweaters' shops have any opportunity for individual develop-

ment; and how many of the two million children who have toiled or begged in our land to-day? What opportunity for individual development have the tillers of our Western empire of mortgaged farms, or the employees of the street railways of our cities? and what is the opportunity of our million unemployed laborers, or of the millions employed at not much beyond an average of three hundred dollars for a yearly wage? Nobly has Swan Sonnenschein of London said: "Lay your strong hand upon the strugglers, restrain their violent eagerness, reduce them to order and system; and in the multifarous requirements of your every-day social life, you may find nooks and corners which the weakest of these weaklings may be competent to fill usefully and honorably and happily. But while they are all hustling and battling together, it is the strong and the competent only who can elbow their way to the front — the strong and the competent and the self-asserting, those who are well able to take care of themselves, and are not, perhaps, greatly hindered by any scru-

ples as to their mode of doing it; while the gentle and diffident, the timorous and weak and scrupulous, — all whose peculiarities do not quite run in the ways of the world, very admirable and worthy though their peculiarities may sometimes be, — all these go down in the struggle by the thousand; and though perhaps they may not often die of actual starvation, they just ebb away. You can see the people dying of mere inanition and broken hearts." And this describes human conditions in a civilization which produces enough for the physical comfort and economic freedom of all, if only a method were adopted for the reasonable distribution of production in equity and righteousness.

But our competitive order intellectually dwarfs and morally distorts the successful as well as the unsuccessful. It is not the rule of the fittest that survives the struggle of industrial competition. The evolution of our competitive and speculative system is the rule of the unfittest. The theory of society in which such a system is founded incites the

lowest qualities of human life. It offers immoral motives to human effort, and degrading rewards to human energy. It grounds society in moral unfaith, and makes social treason the highest qualification for success. It has produced the fact that the prevalent standards of commercial integrity and honor are fundamentally wrong when judged by the teachings of Christ. Even the older pagan ethic and modern agnostic social philosophy regard the desire and strife to acquire property for private gratification and power, rather than for the common well-being, as a profanation of life. But they who most profanely succeed are the social lords who have dominion over us in these days. Not only have these lords taken away the hope of freedom, with which hope modern life so vitally and gloriously began, but they have given us the most atheistic, and in some respects the worst, despotism — the hardest to overcome because of the comprehensiveness as well as indirection of its rule.

A socially monstrous fact of our competitive

civilization is its over-production of middlemen. There are ten men between producer and consumer where but one is needed. Our system has thus created a vast class of speculating exchangers, a social order of parasitism, which produces nothing, and yet consumes production. The most honored and powerful members of society to-day are its parasites. A great army of speculators and competing tradesmen, which ought to be put to the honest work of producing something for society, preys upon its producers, gambles with its necessities, adulterates its foods, and vitiates both its purchases and purchasing power. I do not condemn men because they are buyers and sellers, or question that among those who buy and sell are some of society's noblest and purest characters. But the system and spirit which cause this over-production of exchangers, which give the gains of production to non-producers, and necessitate the under-consumption of economic goods on the part of producers, I condemn as fundamentally destructive to social right and moral order.

And I express the common moral sense of the people when I declare those who enrich and empower themselves through the arbitrary control of production and distribution, through the speculative control of transportation and exchange, to be society's most dangerous enemies; they are not only the chief social parasites, but are destroyers of the nation's life. This waste of the people's substance is inconsistent with any rational organization of society, and is fatal to the political continuity of the people. Our nation cannot endure the present social anarchy of speculative and competitive industrialism. It is destructive to the best forces of the individual life, and constitutes the common life in the very anti-Christ order of society.

The evils of speculative industrialism are nowhere more manifest than in speculation in land, which is the most subversive to social morality of all forms of gambling. There is divine reason in the old Hebrew feeling against land speculation as treason to the nation and a blasphemy against God. Compared to land

speculation, the various forms of gambling against which we have legislated are innocent of evil to society. The land and its natural resources are to be held by the state in sacred trust for the people, and never to be surrendered. As Mulford has said, "the land belongs to the people constituted as a nation, and the right to it is in its moral order." In parting with the vast domains of the people, held by the nation as the communion of God with the national life, the birthright of the people has been sold for a mess of pottage, and the government and economy of the people surrendered to great private and speculative corporations. The power given these corporations has raised the question of government ownership of railways, which is at present answered by a large measure of virtual railway ownership of the government. There is scarcely any longer a denial that our railway systems constitute the largest legislative influence in America; and these systems have obtained their power through legislative gifts of the nation's lands and franchises.

But a place of repentance for our national prodigality may even now be found, though our unholy prudence be offended at the despised movements that lead us to this place, in the five hundred and fifty million acres that remain of our inheritance, and that only need the wise and profitable employment of the unemployed to be converted into an empire of industry and fruitfulness, that shall remain the property of the nation, and be sold in small and conditional holdings, or rented in terms of years or in perpetuity. I see nothing to ridicule, but the profoundest and most prophetic economic statesmanship, in this proposition. And when the divine judgment of history passes between the national legislature of 1894, and the vagabond citizens who were mobbed by the police for bearing this proposition to the Capitol steps, I pray to be judged among the vagabonds. For, call them by what names you please, in the social order and political facts of a better national future, these men will rise up in judgment against this generation, and the cynical stupidity and wicked ignorance of its legislators.

The purely individualistic and unsocial theory of property which our competitive industrialism has made a foundation of society, and strengthened by all the unholy appeals that can be made to social selfishness, has resulted in practically abolishing even the possibility of private ownership for the great majority of the people. One-tenth of our population, or even less, now owns nine-tenths of the wealth. The centralization of the control of property is increasing with a rapidity and power that threaten both the industrial independence of wage-earners and small property-holders, and the integrity of the nation. The average of wages, the certainty and continuity of employment, the social privileges and independence of the wage-earning and agricultural populations, when compared with the increase of wealth and social production, are steadily and rapidly decreasing. The result of our system is and can be nothing else than the accumulation of vast properties under the control of the cunning and strong. It is surely time that we ceased to hear the opportunity for individual development and the

private ownership of property accredited to a purely competitive system as one of its virtues.

The logic of our competitive philosophy inevitably manifests itself in the estimation of human worth in the terms of property rather than of social righteousness. But property was made for man, and not man for property. Society does not exist to protect property, but property to support society. In itself property is nothing; it is simply the instrument by which justice unites men. Property is a sacrament of the unity of life, and through its use men enter into fellowship with each other and communion with God. The right to property does not extend beyond the right social use of property. It is a terribly perverted system of society which subordinates, as ours subordinates, the social being of the people, of the great majority of individuals, to the increase of material things.

At its best, this is no rational order of ours which makes the earning of a living for his body the chief attention of a man's life. Man was not made to live by bread alone, but by

the words of life that proceed from the mouth of God. The earning of a living ought to be but the incident of any social order with which the sons of God have a right to be satisfied. But what shall we say of the irrationality and social blasphemy of a civilization of economic abundance so organized as to make even a decent living uncertain to the millions who give to the earning of it the anxious attention of their hourly thought, and the chief strength of all their years?

The highest industrial order which competitive individualism can give is that of capitalist and wage-earner. And a capitalistic and wage-earning order of society inevitably ends, and has already ended, in the economic rule of an industrial absolutism over a socially subject class. The wages system was a step in the evolution of freedom, but only a step; and without the movement of industry from freedom to association, the wages system would lead society into a state that would only be a fall from feudalism. There can be no social freedom or complete justice until there are

no more mere hirelings in the world; until all become both the employers and employed of the labor of society. Whatever the quality of wages, the man whom the system of things permits to be no more than a hireling is not free; and equal ability and opportunity to compete, even if such equality and opportunity were real, is not freedom. It is the social logic of competitive individualism that the hope of freedom is now distorted and baffled in the struggle of industrial absolutisms to extend their economic sovereignty over the many engaged in the uncertain and consuming competition for work and bread, and denied all right to live as becomes the sons of God.

There is but one deliverance from the rule of the people by property, and that is the rule of property by the people. If much of what has been considered private property is to be absorbed in great monopolistic ownership, as seems to be the inevitable outcome of the competitive struggle, then the people should become the monopolists. The whole movement of modern industrial organization

has been toward monopoly, and the movement will become more rapid, comprehensive, and powerful as present social tendencies increase. The only hope of the people for either industrial or political freedom lies in their taking lawful possession of the machinery, forces, and production of great industrial monopolies. Through the instrumentality of the state the people, constituted in the realized democracy of a social commonwealth, could organize their social economy in justice, that would insure work and bread for all who would work, as well as make common to all many social benefits now exclusively enjoyed by the privileged few; and would find some service that would give a measure of profit and hope to even the weakest. So organized, the state as the social organ of the people would furnish and compel work that would be redemptive to many now given over as worthless by our unsocial order of selfish and competitive individualism.

And the people do not need to wait for capital in order to become their own capitalists. If the people only knew it, they have not the

economic, social, or political use commonly imaged for the capitalists who now receive so large a share of legislative attention and industrial authority, besides reaping the harvest of the common toil. We have constitutional means for transferring the control of industrial machinery, through lawful purchase that need not wait for capital, from our present self-constituted industrial governments to the social democracy of a government of industry for and by the people. If the various political and social reforms and reformers, many of them encumbered by wild and hurtful schemes, could but be brought to unite upon a few fundamental political and industrial changes, such as proportional representation, government ownership of railways, civil service reform, government control of certain sources of production, and thus go before the people with a national social programme, God and the people would carry the programme, and some first steps toward industrial democracy would be taken. Why do we wait? Timidity, prejudice, ignorance, distrust of God and the people, a radical and destruc-

tive conservatism of the vested interests of exhausted political and religious systems, must some day give answer to the righteous judgment of God and his awakened people.

In the midst of the industrial tyranny and social anarchy in which we now find ourselves, it is the ignorant and the indifferent, or else the selfish and the powerful, who will fear and obstruct a progressive extension of the industrial and economic functions of the state. In the face of our social situation, it is unjust and unreasonable to cry against the collectivist as one who would take away our liberties. The economic liberties of the people have in large measure already been taken away. The idea of freedom in the unrestricted competition of the present system is but the tantalism of theorists to the social suffering. There is no longer among the people an expectation of freedom without a large measure of economic association, though the selfish, fearful, and unbelieving would delay the day of association's political birth. But except the state become the organ of economic association, and that in

Christ's law of service, it cannot see the realization of freedom, and can save neither property nor society. The state must be born anew, that the promise of liberty may be fulfilled in the unity of justice, and in social peace.

The idea of the state as the organized economy of the people is not, as some would say, the ancient theory, nor the Platonic conception, that the state is the chief end of man and that man is made for the state, but the Christian opposite of the ancient conception.

The Christian collectivist would take away no liberty from the individual that would not be returned to him a hundred-fold in the liberty which association would give. The Christian economic state would take away the liberty to oppress and defraud, but give the liberty to work, to have faith, and to do justice. The real property rights of the people, the preservation of the home, and the perpetuity of the family, have their future dependence in the association of rights under the guardianship of the state as the social organ of a Christian democracy. Such a mutual surrender and in-

vestiture of rights, instead of endangering the individual and the family, would be the freedom of the individual to develop the highest personal life, and the security of the family from the invasion of want and oppression. The collection of rights and interests in the state as the organ of the Christian economy of the people, would remove life from the sphere of chance to that of a moral social certainty, and give opportunity for that free individual development which is the true end of civilization.

Through no other organ than the state can democracy procure a just conservation and social development of the natural resources which the whole people have received as a gift and trust from God. Centralized as it has now become, there can be no Christian administration of property except through the state. We can no longer hope for individual freedom, either political or industrial, except through economic association; nor can we hope for effective or comprehensive association except through the state as the social

organ of a Christian democracy. Without economic justice, democracy is an exhausted force, and Christianity cannot fulfil the kingdom of God among men. The state is the only organ through which the whole people can act in procuring social justice and industrial freedom, and through no other organ can the social forces of Christ organize the life and work of the people in a divine economy. The state must become Christian and economic, or democracy will fail, and become democratic and economic, or Christianity will fail to accomplish that for which it came into the world. Only through industrial democracy can the state obtain and insure political freedom, and Christianity cannot accomplish its world mission, save it effect the political organization of human life. The state must become effectively social, the organ of a just economic distribution and exchange of the productions of the people, the organ through which the people shall collectively rule property for the social good, if it is to become democratic in fact; and to become

effectively social it must become Christian — the instrument by which the people shall be organized in Christ's law of association. For there is no rule of property by the people, save the rule of the people by Christ. A Christian state as the organized economy of the people is the political realization of Christianity. And the political realization of Christianity is the organization of the people in the divine social democracy defined by the apostles as the communion of the Holy Ghost.

In this lecture, I have brought you the complaint of Christ against our civilization. Whatever I may know or not know of the politics of the future, I declare to you the word of Christ, that this industrial order of things in which we live is wicked and doomed, and that the social traits we once glorified as its virtues are now become vices and tyrannies. I have seen the kingdom of Christ's law and order coming to judge the kingdoms and laws of this world, and have beheld the King appearing in the clouds of social threat and gathering storm. I know the testimony of Christ, that in the

purpose of his Father who is ours, this civilization of organized selfishness cannot abide the day of his political appearing, which is now being made manifest. I bear the witness of Christ, that the church's greatest apostasy, and his own present fearful sorrow, is its ignorance of the wickedness and doom of this social order; its want of knowledge and faith concerning the social order of the kingdom of God; its chosen impotence to lead the social change; its protection of the social wolves who prey upon the sheep it has largely forsaken. Whoever may hear or not hear our report of the complaint and judgment of the appearing Christ, as we speak among the thousand thousand voices crying his coming in the wilderness of social confusion, until the hush of God shall rest upon our lips, neither you nor I dare keep silent. And with all these voices of social judgment and hope, which are but the one voice of the Christ whose speech to our day is like the voice of many waters, history will have to reckon in the time of the social change which shall manifest his sacrifice

as the revelation of the universal and eternal law of life. And that manifestation will witness to the divine authority of the message left us by our appearing Lord's greatest modern English apostle, Frederick D. Maurice. "Competition," speaks the message, "is put forth as the law of the universe. This is a lie. The time has come to declare it is a lie by word and deed." The opportunity and world movement to overthrow the delusion and dominion of this lie, with the truth and authority of the law of sacrifice, is the coming of Christ to this time, to regenerate civilization, and judge and rule the nations.

The complaint and judgment of Christ are our social ground of hope, and the warrant of our faith to abound in his social work, knowing that our labor cannot be in vain. Our social troubles are preparing the earth for the lordship of the Christ who ascended unto the Father in heaven, only that he might come again to rule the earth in the moral glory of his full triumph, through the association of men in his Holy Spirit of loving service. The so-

cial crisis is making way for the authority of Christ to rule his church and his nations in the law of the kingdom which is not of this world, which is not created by the selfishness and divisions and tyrannies of men, but which is come down out of heaven from God to destroy all these, and make the kingdoms of this world divine and social. The social revelation of Christ is the unfolding of a new heaven of the truth of love to light a new earth wherein human relations are socialized through their organization in the justice of sacrifice.

I do not believe that I appeal to one man of business who has not been convicted, perhaps in some moment of greatest financial success, perhaps always and with hidden anguish, of the justice of the complaint of Christ I bring against the existing order; who does not feel that this consuming and incessant strife, grounding his life in practical unfaith and making it a game of chance, is wrong and ruinous to his highest manhood, and ought not to be; who does not know in his heart that man was not made to so live in his relations to his fel-

lows. But he fears, because he has been taught to fear, the faith that would attempt a better order; because he is trained to distrust the wisdom of the right and trust the strength of the wrong, to believe in the power of selfishness and the insufficiency of unselfishness, to regard self-interest as law, and sacrifice as a social weakness and delusion.

For you men of the markets, caught in the terrible toils of this unrighteous system, destroying the hope and crushing the life of our men and women and children, degrading the vital forces of the nation we believe in and love, I feel with what capacity God gives me for sympathy. I speak not to condemn, but to save you, O men! and tell you that a better order of things draws near; an order that is worth your service and your failure, worth your living and dying. I call you to repent because there is a deliverance at hand, and a Deliverer to whom you can turn in social obedience and political faith. I do not want you to think, as likely you have grown to think, that there is something in the nature of practi-

cal business that separates you from holy ideals of life; from the fellowship of sacrifice; from an honest discipleship in the school of Christ; from pure political virtues and the search for social right. I respect that measure of integrity which keeps many of you from uniting with the church, because you discern between the unrighteousness of our social order and the righteousness of Christ; because you will not openly profess a conversion to principles which seem to you utterly impracticable in the present system of commerce, and in existing kinds of politics. But the forces of evil are converting this integrity of yours into a terrible deceiving of your own selves, and into a national danger and a social peril. For it is not true that the practical business of the world is any more irreligious by nature than the life of meditation and prayer. I do not think any life is so certainly and subtly ruinous to one's intellectual integrity and true morality as the life of a mere student; there is no selfishness so disastrous to the humaneness and real purity of one's heart as the selfishness of culture. I

know of no life so destructive to pure spirituality, to unselfish thinking and an honest sacrificial living, to strong manhood and a divinely venturing faith, so conducive to self-deceit, and obstructive to the redemptive world work of God, as that of the mere officer of religion — historic in opposition to the advance of the divine life among men. It requires all the forces of moral help which man can receive from God to resist the deadly forces of selfishness which beset the officials of religion, to compass the ruin of their spiritual honesty and moral vitality; to rob them of original courage, and the Christly kind of loving. The offices of education and religion are no more open to communion with God in the fellowship of Christ than the offices of state and the market. The practical work of the world is God's work, and God lives in the politics of the people. The greatest longing I find for the social order of the kingdom of God is, on the one side, among men of large wealth, whose very hearts are being broken and ground in the system from which they know not how to ex-

tricate themselves, and on the other side in assembly rooms of organized labor, where Jesus is sincerely, however inadequately, honored as the name above every other name. From these now apparently diverging classes of wealth and labor will yet come forth one holy fellowship of sacrifice, to follow Christ in the glory of a regenerated civilization.

IV.

THE CHRISTIAN STATE

THE

REDEMPTION OF LAW FROM ANARCHY.

But the instinct of humanity has also been quick to this: that the curse of ill-gotten wealth passes like bad blood from father to child. What is the truth in this matter? A glance at history will tell us. The accumulation of property is the result of certain customs, habits, and laws. In its own powerful interest property perpetuates these down the ages, and infects the fresh air of each new generation with their temper. How often in the history of mankind has it been property gained under unjust laws or cruel monopolies which has prevented the abolition of these, and carried into gentler, freer times the pride and exclusiveness of the age, by whose rude habits it was gathered. This moral transference, which we see on so large a scale in public history, is repeated to some extent in every private bequest. A curse does not necessarily follow an estate from the sinful producer of it to his heir; but the latter is, *by the bequest itself*, generally brought into so close a contact with his predecessor as to share his conscience and be in sympathy with his temper. And the case is common where an heir, though absolutely, up to the date of his succession, separate from him who made and has left the property, nevertheless finds himself unable to alter the methods, or escape the temper, in which the property has been managed. In nine cases out of ten property carries conscience and transfers habits; if the guilt does not descend, the infection does. — *Rev. George Adam Smith.*

IV.

THE CHRISTIAN STATE THE REDEMPTION OF LAW FROM ANARCHY.

THERE is no likeness between the Christian ideal and that of the anarchist, as Christians sometimes foolishly and unthinkingly admit, and organized selfishness eagerly charges. The method and ideal of the philosophical anarchist and the method and ideal of the Christian political philosopher are the exact antagonism of each other. The Christian organization of the state would be its perfection; the anarchist philosophy would be its destruction. A Christian politic would fulfil the institutions of the state; the anarchist policy would abolish them. The Christian ideal would lead the people in a political progress that would leave restrictive institutions with nothing to do, so that they

would fall into the greater freedom thus achieved and die, as the acorn dies in the earth when the tree comes forth; the anarchist ideal would lead the people in a descent to the lowest political hell, where individual self-will would establish the throne of perfect despotism and the order of perfect misery. The difference between the achievement of the Christian ideal and the anarchist ideal is the difference between the coming of the kingdom of heaven and the coming of the kingdom of hell on the earth. Government is not transient, nor a necessary evil, but eternal in the heart of God, and is the discipline and education of the people in the image and right of the only perfectly governed man the world has known, the man Christ Jesus. The anarchist spirit that would destroy is the witness to the divine necessity of the institutions at which destruction is aimed. The anarchist strengthens the institutions and increases the restrictive functions which the Christian ethic and politic would fulfil in a justice which would outgrow these institutions; in a freedom so holy as to need

restrictions, and which the anarchist only retards. Not the abolition, but the fulfilment, of institutions is the way to freedom ; and it will be the freedom reached through institutional obedience to the law of sacrifice by which Christ made us free.

It will doubtless be expedient that present forms of institutions progressively pass away, in order that the government of the world by the immediate inspiration of God may increase and be fulfilled. But the state itself will not pass away, whatever be its form and organization. The nation is immortal, and the peoples will never cease to have their national beings and organs. The being and glory of the state will not cease with its restrictive functions, but will rather be increased and fulfilled in functions that shall be educative, inspirational, and eternal. Political progress will not ascend by the way of the destruction of law, but by its larger and purer apprehension. The distinctions which the literature of Christianity makes between law and grace, law and freedom, are mainly distinctions of definition ;

grace is but fuller law, and freedom a better obedience.

The social realization of democracy through a Christian state will be the organization of the people in obedience to law. And I use the term law in its most comprehensive sense. Every distinction between the nature of the moral law and the nature of the law of the state is an evil imagination and a political fatuity. There is but one law and one right, of which the state is the organ and the educator. That order of society which finds its expression in a secular state which is to organize the people in one kind of right, and a church of religion which is to discourse upon another kind of right, is the constitution of human life in essential anarchy. It is the order which schools the people to unbelief in right, and kills the social life with the letter of the statute book. It is the social falsehood which logically leads to the social anarchy to which our nation has practically come, and from which the political realization of Christianity will be our redemption. The Christian

state will be the organized law of the people in communion with God in the sacrifice of Christ.

The Christian idea of law, which no nation has yet embodied in its constitution or in its judicial ideals, is the evolution and fulfilment of the Hebrew law. To the Hebrew, law was an expression of the mind of God concerning man. From the beginning of his education the Hebrew child was grounded and disciplined in the law of the nation, which he was taught to regard as an organization of the kingdom of God. The study of the law was the education of the man in right, and in a saving knowledge of the wrong. Law was a medium of communion and worship, of obedience and co-operation, with God as the true political ruler of the nation. The functions of law were educational — subjective rather than objective in operation. The protective and police functions of the law were incidental to the education of man in the will of God; of the nation in the right of God. When prophet, or statesman, or psalmist, expressed his delight in the law, it was not to the

written code he referred, but to the quality of right suggested by the code. The psalmist loved what God willed; he loved the education in that will which he received from the law. It was the moral nature of the mind of God, which the Hebrew was in a measure enabled to understand by the law, that attracted him to its study as a means of education. Upon the common study of the law as the word of God, not merely or mainly upon legal executions, did the integrity of the nation depend. Nowhere has the sacredness of human life been so seriously emphasized as in the Hebrew law. Yet the emphasis is always laid upon the awful subjective effect of the sin of murder in the murderer, rather than in its objective effect on the murdered. The moral lesson to be derived from the Bible story of the first murder, when read as it is clearly written, is not in the fact that Abel was killed, but that Cain killed him. 'Centuries before the Hebrew statutes were transcribed, the righteousness of those statutes had been written in the moral nature of man; rather, they were

inherent in the constitution of his humanity. Not until the nation had nearly completed its political history was the transcription of the law complete, and that transcription came with national decay. It was when the nation lost its consciousness of the law as educative rather than restrictive, as associative rather than legal, that the closest attention was given to the writings and decisions of the law. The pure Hebrew conception was that which regarded the law as the school in which the state educated and associated the people in the righteousness of the kingdom of God.

The Christian doctrine of law is clearly enunciated by Paul in his letters to the early churches. Law is a schoolmaster whose work is the education of men in love; the instrument which is to prepare men for association in the justice of sacrifice. When the apostle declares love to be the fulfilling of the law, he is not speaking as a sentimentalist, a pietist, or a mystic, but as a political philosopher; as a social statesman who understands and defines the educational and associative functions

of law. According to his Christian philosophy of law, society is the end for which law exists. To say that love is the fulfilling of the law is simply to declare that the law is fulfilled in society. Society is the fulfilment of the law because it is the fulfilment of love. Law is the divine instrument for the conviction of men in the wrong that separates them from each other and from God, and their education in the sacrificial quality of right which has power to associate them in the perfect justice of the love which God has manifested in Christ. Not individual protection, but mutual association, is the end of law; not individual rights, but mutual association in righteousness. Neither Christian apostle nor Hebrew prophet ever thought that the law in itself could make men righteous, or that its incident of individual protection was the end of law. No mere enforcement of law external to a man's moral nature can make him right or social; it can only restrain him from outward acts of evil. The chief emphasis upon what might be called the legal and police functions of the law, rather than its educational and asso-

ciative functions, has always been the significance of periods of lawlessness and political dissolution. Law can save itself only by losing itself; by being the schoolmaster to bring us through faith out of political atheism unto Christ, who is the political wisdom and power of God unto the social redemption and perfection of the nations. When government, which is ordained to institute and realize law, sustains its true relation to God and the people, it progressively discovers, proclaims, and interprets the law of Christ's kingdom of God.

Probably not since the Roman age into which Christ came has such attention been given to statute-making and judicial decisions as by our nation at this time. Yet in the common mind there is scarcely any longer a thought of our courts of law as having a relation to social justice. The law and its judgments are not now the education of the people in right. Our courts do not impress the public thought with the moral majesty and holy nature of the law. Law and justice have come to be separate entities which may incidentally unite. I do not

mean to say that there is no justice in our courts, and I doubt not that the purest representatives of our institutions are on the judicial bench. Perhaps there is as much conviction of judicial sin in the judiciary as among the people. But the fact abides and enlarges that our courts of law have ceased to be courts of justice in the public mind. No legal sophistry can conceal that one's standing in the processes of legal trial and judgment depends in large degree upon the material interests he represents, and his ability to purchase technical skill. Even judicial decisions that are strictly according to the law are often so notoriously unjust, when weighed by the social conscience, as to inspire a wide and ominous distrust of both legislatures and courts. To say that an act is legal, and has been so adjudged by the judiciary, no longer necessarily means that it is just and right. The fact that the skilled exponents of the law in one great commonwealth of our nation can find no legal method of criminating and punishing the former president of a railway corporation for

virtually stealing the sum of six million dollars from its treasury, while the governor of another great commonwealth is petitioned to pardon from the penitentiary a young man under sentence of fourteen years' imprisonment for the theft of a pair of shoes, and that his first crime, suggests the social seriousness of the problem of law. The use of the law as the instrument of social injustice and industrial lawlessness is a form of anarchy from which our nation urgently needs redemption.

A concrete example of how law may be made the instrument of an industrial anarchy is the flagrant use of our federal courts for what a prominent writer has lately defined as the "legalized plunder of railway properties." Probably no other instances of the judicial administration of our laws have created such a profound and perilous unfaith in the competency of our institutions to procure justice. Receivers for railways are appointed by the federal courts who are often the men, or are appointed in the interests of the men, who have themselves bankrupted the prop-

erties for personal profit, and who are practically irresponsible to either the real owners of the property, or to the public affected by its management. Through strange legal processes, and the despotic irresponsibility of railway property and management, appointees of the federal courts are now operating nearly one-fourth of the railway properties of the nation. These properties have been largely thrown into the courts through financial crimes; through a fearful species of industrial anarchy seemingly unaccountable to existing laws. And the corporate managers of these properties are seeking to compel the public to pay such rates of traffic, and their employees to work for such wages, as will enable the corporations to realize dividends of profit on a fictitious capitalization many times the amount, in some cases, of the actual capital invested. Mr. Van Oss's book on "American Railroads as Investments," the most recent and reliable railroad authority, also written in the commercial interests of the railways themselves, says that "for $4,650,000,000 shares

now in existence, the original investors certainly paid not more than $465,000,000, or ten per cent of their face value, and probably less." Without redress or remedy under present laws, or under their interpretation and administration, the American people are now paying interest on a capital stock amounting to billions of dollars which never had a real existence. As it is now organized, or rather in its present state of disorganization, our railway system is a greater menace to the integrity and perpetuity of the nation than was ever the institution of slavery; it is the strongest enemy of society and the chief danger of anarchy; and it has become such through the manipulation of legislatures and the protection of courts. The command and administration of the railway system by law is the most immediate national problem which demands our legislative and judicial solution. In the unlimited responsibility of the people for the protection of railway and other corporate properties, with the almost absolute irresponsibility of these corporations to the

public, our laws permit what is immeasurably more vicious and destructive to liberty than taxation without representation. The people of our nation will not, and ought not, much longer maintain what are practically public corporations privately owned, with no responsibility for the public welfare, no accountability to the public will, and virtually not amenable to public justice, yet requiring the national courts for their operation, and the national army for their protection. If the people must be responsible for the operation of these properties, and their courts and army used for this end, while there is no way by which the courts and army can be used to protect the people from corporate oppression and exploitation, then the people should not only own and operate the properties for which they are responsible at such a cost, but should reorganize and reconstitute the laws of the land in the interests of humanity and of the nation.

The social wrongs and industrial disorder attributable to the present conceptions and in-

terpretations of law are not mitigated by the fact that the fault largely lies in the enactment of the law itself, and in precedent, rather than in the judiciary. Even though the evil workings of the law be legislative rather than judicial sins in their last analysis, the result is none the less the education of the people in lawlessness and in social unfaith. And it is questionable whether the social disorder which our laws are causing instead of curing should be attributed to corrupt legislative enactment, more than to false judicial interpretation. Law is not fixed and mechanical, but vital and evolutionary. Courts are set to make as well as follow precedent. The tyranny of a code, or of an unchanging interpretation of law, may be more destructive to liberty than the tyranny of a despot. The immediate cause of revolution may sometimes be found in the persistence of precedent as the determining element in the interpretation and execution of law. And there is no tyranny so subtly degrading to the nation, so hurtful to liberty, as a judiciary which persists in the spirit and precedent of interpreting

law in behalf of property, rather than of human beings.

The inordinate and perverted sense of the worth of property which our industrial system has stimulated and strengthened, making it the object of social worship, has naturally subjected to the property interests of the largest owners the well-being of the people in legislation. The rule of property has thus usurped the rule of the people, and our legislative halls have been converted into the lobby-chambers in which corrupting corporate interests buy the rights of the people from political bureaucracies, and use the institutions of law for social lawlessness. Corporations that are the chief beneficiaries of legislation, and that should be the organization of the highest justice, use the laws of the land to achieve their ends, and avail themselves of the law's extreme protection, but are practically a law unto themselves. In American legislation of the past decade human beings, as compared with property, have small place. We have laws that will imprison or execute the man who murders his fellow out

of passion for revenge, or for the procurement of small gain — though even the laws for the execution of the single murderer may be baffled according to the political or financial influence of the criminal. But for the street and national railway corporations that indirectly, yet inexcusably, murder thousands for money, we have no effective punishments. By what kind of a political conscience do we suffer corporations to kill their hundreds, through profitable neglect or refusal to provide appliances or constructions by which these slaughters of men for corporate gain might be avoided? Is it any more right for members of a financial corporation to indirectly kill their fellows for money, than for the individual to kill his fellow for private robbery or in passion? The extent to which the power of property has become the legislative power of the land has its shameful and revolutionary manifestation in the arrogant and unconcealed influence of a great monopolistic organization in the national legislation of the spring and summer of the year 1894. It is questionable if anything so disastrous to politi-

cal morals has occurred in the history of our nation. I know of nothing that has so shaken the popular faith in the efficacy of our legislative institutions. Against these legislators — scarcely knowing so much as that there is a social question, insulted by proposals that they shall give direct attention to the industrial condition and social well-being of the whole people, yet thinking it political wisdom to indirectly tax the whole people according to the dictation of the few who already control capital, industry, and legislation — there is laid up a divine political judgment, in which they may well call on the mountains and hills to cover the shame of their moral crimes against the nation.

It was against the approach of the legislative despotism of property, in the form of capital, that President Lincoln raised "a warning voice" in a message to the Thirty-seventh Congress: "There is one point with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of government. It is assumed

that labor is available only in connection with capital, that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital, somehow, by the use of it, induces him to labor." Continuing, Mr. Lincoln proposed this principle: "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and never could have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration." In the same message, this greatest political leader the common peoples of the earth have ever had, being also the most far-seeing of modern political prophets save Mazzini, bids "those who toil" to "beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost." And much of liberty has been lost, and great property despotisms built up, since Abraham Lincoln spoke this unheeded warning to the nation for which both his life and death were a divine sacrifice.

But the national shame and portent of this loss of political and industrial liberty is the method by which it has come. The law which was instituted to protect and perfect our liberties has become the instrument of their perversion and peril. It is through the evil mysteries of legislation and the unjust workings of the law that our nation has reached its present social confusion and political degradation. Through the enactment and administration of the law itself the people have received their education in lawlessness and social injustice. The processes of law, during recent years, have been the schoolmaster to bring the people into political infidelity, that they might be destroyed through social unbelief. Instead of associating the people in obedience to laws that increasingly apprehend and institute the law of the kingdom of God, the methods of our laws have been training men to do that which is socially right in the eyes of their own selfish interests.

We have thus become the most lawless and socially destructive of civilized peoples, and have become so through the instrumentality of

purely secular and individual conceptions of law. We are not in a sense yet violent; but one does not need to throw dynamite bombs to be a destroyer of society and an anarchist in fact; he need only be a law unto himself. The open violation of the interstate commerce law by railway management is anarchy. The use of our legislative institutions for corporate private interests is a national anarchy of fearful character and danger. The social anarchy of our system of unrestricted competition is being manifested in the demoralization and disorganization of commercial and industrial interests we everywhere find. While all nations are full of a dread of anarchy, our nation is in a state of anarchy that is no less real in that it is industrial. Our anarchists are among the politically cunning and unscrupulous, the socially strong and industrially powerful, the victorious competitors and spoilers of the people's substance; and the law itself is their instrument of anarchy.

This anarchy is the natural, retributive, and remedial outcome of our blind and unheeding

social worship of material things and forces — a worship always degrading, divisive, and destructive to both individual and associated human life. Our social troubles are largely due to our exalting property to the place and reverence that belong to human beings in the enactment and administration of law. Strangely enough, some of the fundamental theories of the atheistic politics of France prior to the French Revolution have increasingly dominated the formation and execution of our laws through the century. One of these is the commercial and materialistic theory that government exists for the protection of property — our modern political Baal worship. The conception is destructive to the moral life and social freedom in its logical effect. With property as the chief concern of government, the utter degradation of law and political demoralization of the people are inevitable, and tyranny and slavery are sure. This was the unconscious thought of a recent address to the people of Chicago by the venerable Judge Lyman Trumbull, whose political character and legal wisdom are worthy of

the most thoughtful consideration. "The existing conflict between labor and capital," he says, "has its foundation in unjust laws, enabling the few to accumulate vast estates and live in luxurious ease, while the great masses are doomed to incessant toil, penury, and want. What is needed is the removal of the cause which permits the accumulation of the wealth of the country in a few hands, and this can only be brought peaceably about by a change of the laws of property." The protection of property is but the incident and not the end of government; and our laws of property must be changed, as Judge Trumbull suggests, with reference to the social being of the whole people, — with reference to the welfare of all individuals, and not a privileged few. The protection of property is but incidental in law and government to the development and perfection of man. Law was not made for property, but both property and law were made for the moral and social education of human life. The nation that saveth its property shall lose it; and the nation that loseth its property, for the sake of

the social justice of Christ's kingdom of God, shall find its property possessing an eternal worth and a spiritual glory. It is not really property we want so much as we socially and legislatively think, but home and freedom, justice and society. It is a testimony to the wisdom of Jesus concerning man's relation to property, that in converting our laws from the social saving and moral increase of men and women to the individual saving and national increase of property, our nation now beholds the opportunity for private property practically abolished by self-constituted corporate governments and industrial despotisms. Judge Trumbull also said that "the suppression of the recent strikes by the governmental forces has aggravated rather than alleviated the discontent of the laboring classes." Social justice through a regenerated law is the sole defence that will now preserve and develop our national life; and the preparation of this defence should be made with the divinest speed and wisdom which the inspiration of the political and social service of Christ can give.

But our social worship of material forces, and the consequent degradation of law and the people, are the fruit of the Anglo-Saxon conception of law as existing for the procurement and protection of individual rights, rather than for the socialization of men in justice. The insistence upon individual rights rather than upon social duties has naturally turned the attention of every man to things that are his own, rather than to the things of others. Out of the perverted and individualistic idea of rights has grown the inordinate sense of the worth of property as the ground upon which rights may best stand and defend themselves against encroachment. With property the ground of rights, of course the more property one has the larger the area and force of his rights. The stress laid upon the individual rather than the social nature of rights has cultivated for one's own rights a jealousy so regardless of the rights of others, that out of the passion for rights has evolved the most crushing and irresponsible social tyranny.

In the extreme and competitive sense in

which individual rights are now interpreted, government does not exist for the protection of the individual; and the government that makes this the end of its existence is the one that least of all gives rights and protection to the individual commensurate with his social possibilities. The protection of the individual is incidental, both in cause and effect, to association in justice. Except through association, there is no adequate individual protection, and no freedom that is real or enduring. The Anglo-Saxon idea of law and government as existing for the protection of the individual is an advance upon the Roman idea of the individual as existing for the state. But because it is an advance, it is therefore all the more capable of becoming the instrument of tyranny and the cause of anarchy. If our nation is to be saved, and civilization be regenerated, the Hebrew and Roman and Anglo-Saxon conceptions of law must all three be fulfilled in the Christian and universal conception of law as existing for the association of men in righteousness. The end of law is the redemption, asso-

ciation, and perfection of man, and through these come the true individual protection and freedom. Law negatively fulfils itself in holding the forces of evil in abeyance, while positively fulfilling itself in the association of men in the justice procured through the divine socialism of organized sacrifice. This is the final government of the world symbolized in the throne of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. By the symbol of the throne and the Lamb ruling the nations is meant the organization of all life, and the institution of all laws, under the uniting law of love which has its perfect expression in the sacrifice of Christ. Not only must law, in order to save and perfect society, be protective and become loving, but love must become law, and all the statutes of the state and judgments of the courts redemptive interpretations and applications of the law of love. The state will thus become not merely or mainly an institution of rights, but an institution of association, and an institutional manifestation of Christ. The courts of law will thus become institutions for applying Christ's

law of sacrifice to the social redemption of the world.

By its ability to socialize men in a common service for the good of all, must every law be judged. The idea of law as instituted to procure an equal balancing of competing self-interests is the negation of the end for which law exists; the surrender of the one function to which all other functions of law are incidental. A competitive civilization is the social antonym of law.

There must be given to our institutions a regenerating knowledge of the social nature and redemptive mission of law. The redemption of our nation will come through the preparation of the way of the justice of Christ amidst legal injustice and disorder. That redemption will not come through the abolition or destruction of the institutions of law, but through their salvation from being the instruments of legalized anarchy, and their sanctification to realizing among the people the law and order which God has revealed in Christ. For, thanks be to the God of the fathers of

our nation, who built deeper and more prophetic foundations than they knew, we have constitutional means for redeeming our laws from the social disorder of a destructive individualistic legalism, from the political degradation of a property servitude, into the order and glory of the divine social democracy which the appearing Christ is inspiring as the hope of civilization.

It is this present appearing and judgment of Christ that have compelled me to speak in unsparing condemnation of our legislative, economic, and judicial evils, yet with no sense of discouragement on my own part, or fear of final failure on the part of the people of this nation, through whatever tribulation we may have to follow our national destiny. If I cry repentance to our institutions and the people, it is not as the real pessimist who believes the existing order of things should be let alone, but as the optimist who believes a better order to be at hand. In the coming of Christ as our Judge and Deliverer we have the sure ground and glad motive for repentance

from social and political wrong. The social judgment of our nation in the righteousness of the appearing Christ is our hope of a true national glory — for judgment is redemption, and law is the realization of righteousness.

V.

THE CHRISTIAN STATE

THE

SALVATION OF THE CHURCH.

INDIFFERENCE, inertia, a naturally yielding disposition, and, above all, fear, paralyzing fear — these are the causes which blunt or corrupt the weak conscience of the many, who wander hither and thither without any governing rule of conduct, crying, *Peace, peace*, when there is no peace possible. They fear fatigue; they fear the struggle; they fear everything but that which is really fearful. I tell you that there is an eye whose glance descends like a curse from on high upon these men of little faith. Wherefore think they they were born? God has not placed man on earth as in his final dwelling, to waste his days in the slumber of indolence. Time passes them by, not like the light zephyr that caresses and refreshes the brow, but like the wind that now burns, now freezes; a tempest that drives their frail bark among arid rocks, beneath a stormy sky. Let them arise and watch — seize the oars, and bedew their brows with sweat. Man must do violence to his own nature, and bend his will before that immutable order of things which encompasses him above, below, in grief and misfortune. A duty, an absolute duty, governs him from the cradle upwards; growing with his growth, and accompanying him to the tomb; a duty towards his brothers, as well as to himself; a duty towards his country, towards humanity, and above all, towards the church; the church, which, rightly understood, is but the home of the universal family; the great city wherein dwells Christ, at once Priest, King, and Ruler of the world; calling upon the free, in every portion of the universe, to unite beneath the eternal law of intellect and love. — *Lamennais.*

V.

THE CHRISTIAN STATE THE SALVATION OF THE CHURCH.

The power of a political faith in Christ, rising amidst the whole political and religious people as one person, is needed for the salvation of the church as well as of the nation. The attitude of the church as a whole toward the Christian problems of our national life is far from what God and the people have a right to expect. Not only is the church in a large degree indifferent and ignorant concerning the nature and real gravity of the social crisis, but its official classes are often found in unthinking and dangerous antagonism to the social change which is as surely coming from God as the Christ himself. The social infidelity of unbelief in the need, wisdom, and power of Christ's kind of righteousness among men

seems to be deeper and more abiding within than without the institutions of religion that profess Christ as Lord; nowhere else is there such an apparent want of faith in the practicability of Christ's teachings, in the divine intention that his commands should be obeyed. However politically fallen we be as a people, I know of nothing in our politics more perilous to the nation, no social ailment more serious, than this practical unfaith of the church in the righteousness of Christ — an unfaith cultivated in the interests of theology, ecclesiasticism, and the social worship of property. Though this religious cultivation of unfaith be unconscious rather than deliberate, it is none the less a betrayal of Christ and an apostasy of the church. That God's people do not know the difference between religious observances and faith, that they will not consider political right in distinction from political wrong, that they persist in the sin of ignorance concerning the social condition of the nation, that they refuse to be morally intelligent and reasonable, is no less a national treason and ground of complaint

in the church of America than it was in the Hebrew church of Isaiah's time. The church as well as the nation must be born again, if either is to see the realization of the kingdom of God. The repentance of the church, and its conversion to a larger faith in Christ, is a political reform of immediate need, and may prove a first fruit of the Christian state.

It is true that exceptional churches are making noble and strenuous efforts to solve specific social problems of religion. But these do not represent the organized Christianity of the present, and are no atonement for the failure of institutional Christianity to be the social and national representative of Christ. While the church is guilty of the wicked folly of fancying that the building of many and great churches, the lengthening of church rolls, is the getting of Christianity into the world, the multitudes are as sheep without social shepherds, devoured by ravenous political and industrial wolves. They are sick and outraged with the weak social maxims and religious respectabilities of the churches — churches which

know not their own need of repentance, and are acting without the illumination and power of the Spirit of the Christ who regenerates and socializes. They know well and sadly that, devoutly and sincerely as it is intended, much of what is taught in pulpits as Christianity is something less than the teachings of Jesus regarding human life and relations. The church, related as it is to industrial unrighteousness, hesitates to reveal the true Jesus whom the unchurched and unsocialized peoples are asking to see.

Both within and without the church, there is a deepening social feeling that Jesus is not adequately represented by the commanding institutions that bear his name. These institutions stand for religion, but not for Christ's kind of righteousness; they stand for respectability and property, but not for Christ's law of sacrifice and association; they stand for benevolence, but not for the justice of the kingdom of God. I know of no more earnest and sincerely anxious arraignment of the present social attitude of the church than that of a letter pub-

lished by Mr. Ernest H. Crosby, in the *New York Herald* of Dec. 11, 1894. In this letter Mr. Crosby, himself a conservative Christian, says: "The disclosures made yesterday before the Tenement House Commission concerning the management by Trinity Church of its tenement houses are exceedingly discouraging to those who, like myself, believe that the words of Christ contain the solution of all our social difficulties. That the so-called church of Christ should not only be blind to the great problems which perplex society, but should even be taking an active and official part in grinding the faces of the poor, cannot but be astounding to those who are acquainted with its charter as set forth in the four Gospels. The fact is, that the true effort to establish the kingdom of heaven is almost entirely to be found outside the limits of church work. Just as fifty years ago those who were awake to the sin of chattel slavery were denounced as infidels by the churches, so to-day the man who perceives the injustice of our social system, and especially the curse of landlordism in our cities, is looked

at askance. Those noble clergymen who are in earnest in their attempts to make the world better are objects of suspicion; and while the mass of their colleagues are engaged in the old work of passing by on the other side, we find that the priests and Levites of Trinity parish are actually employed, at least indirectly, in waylaying the unfortunate traveller. So far is it from being the same thing to be a disciple of Christ and a member of the church, that it is not always easy to combine the two characters. Even the mad anarchist has some idea of the wants of society, and in his perverted manner seeks to make way for a better era; but the churches for the most part are content to jog along in a fool's paradise of their own." Whatever be the measure of our agreement or disagreement with Mr. Crosby's arraignment, only the blind leaders of the blind will deny that the church is failing to stand in the great chasm, daily widening and deepening because of the church's failure, between the hostile social forces that are filling civilization with strain and dread.

Now, there is a certain seeking to save and build itself up first, resulting in a seeking of the righteousness of the kingdom of God subordinately, that is mainly the cause of the church's failure. The church is losing its true authority in a worldly jealousy to save for itself a purely arbitrary authority to which it has no right; it is deceiving both itself and the people with the complacency and unconscious religious arrogance of institutional selfishness. The divine life of the church is being eaten up by the unholy zeal of its official classes, who make the church an end in itself, and mistake the numerical and financial increase of the church for an increase of Christianity and the kingdom of God. Out of selfish consideration for its interests the church has taught religiousness more than an actual righteousness, and has separated itself from the great world conflicts amidst which it ought to be the solving factor. This making of the church an end instead of a means of religion, so far as man's relations with the world in which he lives are concerned, is the essential apostasy of the church from its true faith and mission.

This apostasy hedges the institutions of the church about with a fictitious sacredness, and the officials of religion with an unreal holiness, separating the work and people of the world into one class, and the church and officials of religion into another. But it was for just the opposite of this the church was appointed. It was not sent to build up an institution of religion that should be more holy than the world, but to permeate and possess all the world, the world's people and institutions and machinery, with the holiness of Christ. The moment we look upon the offices or institutions of religion as being peculiarly holy, inherently and naturally holier than the ordinary functions of life, then instead of making the church truly holy, we have degraded its offices and made them a blasphemy of the life of God in the people. When we lift any idea of sanctity from the common life, and add an idea of peculiar sanctity to the offices of religion, we make the church a barrier between God and the people, and make the officer of religion a living lie to the people about God.

Every conception that the ministry and offices of religion have an inherent sacredness attaching not to other work of the world is a profanation of human life and an apostasy of religion. To the measure that the church appears before the people demanding a regard for itself that it conceives does not belong to every occupation and organization of man, it appears under false pretences, and becomes a minister of practical atheism, responsible for political iniquity and commercial fraud; for the social unrighteousness of secularism, and the tyrannies and wrongs of our industrial order. The church is not any more sacred in the divine thought than the mill and the market. And when the mill and the market are places where men are oppressed, they are no worse than the church that is a centre and congestion of religious selfishness. It was not the sin of the street, but this religious selfishness in the Jewish church, that crucified Jesus as a blasphemer and destroyer.

But the chief and more fatal sin of the church is the failure of its pulpit to possess and

be possessed by a living inspiration. Not only is the church as a whole without an open vision, but it has come to be an actual offence, a kind of a heresy, to have an original inspiration from God for one's own time and its problems. The very incredulity with which the idea of a living inspiration is regarded, no more by the secularism of the market and the Sadduceeism of politics than by the officialism of the church, is one of the signs of the degradation of faith. We who ought to be the messengers of God to the living people are mainly occupied in deducing religious lessons from the inspirations and messages to a people centuries dead. I do not mean that all messages of God are not for all times and always living, and that we ought not to search the Scriptures for the manner and messages by which God spoke to the past. But when we try to make the messages of God to a dead people take the place of the messages of God to a living people, we are the embezzlers of spiritual funds, and have caused the Bible to separate the people from God. When we discourse upon the inspired

messages of God to other men, without direct communications, original inspirations, timely messages, of our own to bear to the people, we misrepresent God.

This want of an inspiration from God to our own and needful living time is the real cause of the distrust and mockery of the church by the unchurched multitudes, though they have no ability to define the cause. The men in the pulpits are good men, the best in a sense the world has, but conventional and uninspired, without the direct communication from God which every preacher should bring to the people. Virtue does not go out of us because our virtues are traditional and reputable rather than vital and inspirational. It is thus easy to comprehend why the majority of the people do not go to the preaching and teaching of the church to learn right from wrong; why, indeed, many constant and devout worshippers in the church are there because they are getting something else than a knowledge of right from wrong for their spiritual comfort. The wonder is not that so few, but that so many, actoally attend

the religious performances of the church that knows not what God is thinking and saying concerning the living needs and problems that cry to the pulpit for knowledge.

I do not wish to mix with any controversies about theories of inspiration. But certainly we must all know that our work is with the God of the living rather than with a God of the dead. The divinely authorized preacher is simply the bearer of direct messages from the living God to the living people; the instrument through whom God communicates fresh and vitally new inspiration to his world. It is only a living and original inspiration from God to one's own time and crises that authorizes any man to preach. It is an awful spiritual crime for the preacher to come uninspired before his people; for in so doing he is a bearer of false pretences instead of a message-bearer of God. Whoever goes without an original message, a direct communication, a living inspiration, is a spiritual fraud. However devout and religious we may be, though soever correct in opinion and faultless in conduct, if we are simply

finding lessons in what God said to a people now dead, and are not in such relations with God that he can express his thought and will through us to the living, we are practically without faith, and pretend to a spiritual authority we do not possess. Vital and always new as the messages of God to a past age are, we may never be so atheistic in fact as when we are most diligently searching and teaching the Scriptures, and that with highly religious motives; never so destructive to true faith in the living God.

It is surely a strange kind of protection, a sad quality of faith, which so hedges in with theories of inspiration the Scripture records of past revelations as to make them a barrier and a threat against living inspirations and revelations from God to the living men of the present. Is it likely that God was any more interested in the politics of the Hebrews than he is in the politics of Americans? Is it reasonable to suppose that God was more concerned with the Jewish church than he is with the American church? Does it reflect wisely

on either the sovereignty or the character of God to assume that he was willing and able to help past times and crises with direct communications, and yet is unable and unwilling to communicate directly with this neediest and most critical time of history? Do we suppose that God has so exhausted his power as the Father of men that this human age of divinest opportunity must depend wholly on the opportune messages of God to other ages, and work out its fearful problems in an uncertain salvation — as though God had withdrawn himself from the world, or were not able to speak, or were dead?

The one vehement and insistent complaint which the Hebrew prophets lifted against their nation was the refusal of the people, with their religious and political leaders, to be inspired by the God of the living; they were always worshipping the God of the dead — worshipping traditionally and ceremonially, professionally and arbitrarily. It was this sin that made the Jewish church blind to the revelation of God in Christ, and the persecutor of those who saw

that revelation. It was this sin that made the Catholic church blind to the revelation of God in the Reformation, and the persecutor of the reformers and evangelists who saw that revelation and proclaimed it abroad. It is this sin which most mortally besets the Protestant church of to-day. Can it be that the church of the Reformation will repeat the experience of this sad religious past; that Prostestantism in its turn will persecute those who behold the social revelation of God in Christ, and receive and declare the living inspiration of that revelation?

The present manifestation of Christ in the world is full of hope for the future of the church; full of light upon the future course of the Christian peoples in the church, however obstinate and selfish merely theological and official religion may prove. The social movement has been a conviction of sin and a revelation of Christ to the church, within which are multitudes of eager disciples who only need to know Christ's truth to obey it unto death. There is an awful heartache within ten

thousand of the church's baffled and troubled ministers, who know not what to do and are crying out to know, while a million Christian disciples in the churches are in sorrow because there is something lacking in themselves and their ministers, which they know not how to supply, not knowing even what the lack is; and all this is because ministers and churches come not together in the communion, the frankness, the honesty of the Spirit. But in the midst of the church's social unfaith and perplexity is the risen and appearing Lord Christ, who is the quickening Spirit of our dead religious formalities, entreating the church to turn from its apostasy to him and receive the Holy Ghost. The church can find no extrication from the social guilt and sorrow, and receive no spiritual leadership of the social forces, save through acknowledging its guilt and turning from its sin — working out the social redemption with fear and trembling, perhaps through purgatorial fire and suffering, which is none other than the fire of the Holy Ghost. We cannot cast the rich men from the churches they have disgraced in

the eyes of God's people; for their sin is the church's sin, and the church has made them what they are. The church can neither escape the law of retribution which purifies, nor the law of vicariousness by which it must guide society through the social retribution and redemption. But the national social pain may become a matchless and glorious shame to the church, if it will face its participation in the social wrong, and surrender to the spirit and agony of the social regeneration. The power of God may rest upon the church of to-day in such a measure as it has never rested upon associated men, if the church will glory in its infirmity, and understand its need of a changed social heart. If those who love and wait the appearing of the Lord Christ, the divinely anxious and watchful in the churches of America, would assemble for prayer, in one accord to do the will of Christ — humbly discovering and deeply considering what Christ taught concerning human relations, and waiting for a Pentecost of power to obey — and would then go before the nation with the social program of

Christ, the breath of God like a mighty rushing wind would give political healing to the nation, conscience and unity to the church, and regeneration to society.

The political realization of Christianity will issue in the divine establishment of the church in the state. The functions of church and state will become so related, as society becomes more Christianly organized, that their union will be naturally accomplished by spiritual forces through moral processes. I have no plan to offer for the union of church and state, and we need no plan; the problem of their union is one which God will unfold as man fulfils the righteousness of Christ. But we can make no greater mistake than to suppose that the separation of church and state is the final solution of the problem of their relations. If religion is life, then politics is life; and the organization of the two must be one. The disunion of church and state, the separation of politics from religion, is largely the sin of the church itself. If it had sought to make the person and mind of Christ the centre of unity,

instead of its own institutions of religion, it would not have proved itself so often the foe of the people's liberties, and the friend of their tyrants; it would not have proved itself, in great crises, unworthy of the people's trust, and the source of religious and political anarchies. And so long as the church remains what it now is, there ought not to be a unity of the church with the state. If we cannot trust such politics as we have to organize the religion of the people, we can none the better trust such religion as we have to organize the politics of the people. The church of religion must become Christian as well as the political state, in order to fulfil the divine unity of the two in the Christian organization of society.

The union of church and state is not something the church should seek at all, but is a triumphant and glorious thing that will be added to it through a faithful seeking to fulfil the righteousness of the kingdom of God in the world. The vital and abiding union will not be reached through a plan, but through the uniting spirit that seeks the social justice

of the kingdom with a passion so holy that it consumes all jealousies and rivalries of parties, sects, and opinions. The Christian church of the Christian state will not come through the adoption of methods, through revisions and reconciliations of creeds, through the balancing of interests and opinions, through ecclesiastical legislation, but through the immersion of men in the Christ Spirit, and the fusion of all interests, opinions, and polities in the one common purpose to fulfil the society of the kingdom of Christ's righteousness on the earth. Only the accordance of men in the mind of Christ, and their consequent immersion in his passion for right, so that they shall be one as the Father and Son are one, can discover that unity of church and state which shall bring forth the Messianic nation for the social redemption and unity of the world.

The church that shall fulfil this unity, and speak with a true spiritual authority to the responsive political faith of the people, will be a redeemed and holy church, not living to

build up itself out-of the world, but to divinely build the world in righteousness out of its own sacrifice on Christ's behalf; a church not endued with pride and fear, silent before social crimes, and justifying the legal robberies committed by the religious, but a church proclaiming release to the social captives, and setting at liberty them that are bruised by oppression; a church whose iniquity has been purged and pardoned, its warfare with its own selfishness, unfaith, and apostasy accomplished, and converted into the organized passion and sacrifice of Jesus for the deliverance of the sons of men, who are also the sons of God; a church not reformed, or restored, or merely organically united, but a church regenerated throughout, and fulfilling in itself the quality of life that opened the heavens of truth for the descent of the pure and perfect authority of love upon the Christ; a church to which the witnesses of Christ can at last — would God the time were now! — speak comfortably, without breaking faith with their Lord.

The church is not occupying its true place

among men and institutions — the place of world government and unity, the place assigned to it in the counsels of God, the divine supremacy which it can reach only through the sacrifice of world service, and by the highway of holiness. The hope of spiritually authorized government, of divinely procured unity, through the Roman church, is extinct — though the form and many elements of unity therein remain. Protestantism has given, indeed is giving, no hope or promise of a new unity — yea, has practically abandoned to secularism, political atheism, and social infidelity the right and kingship of the Christ to rule the nations. If there were nothing for the church beyond Protestantism, as we now see it, then the church would be a decadent institution, and Christianity would have to find another universal organ. The horrid blasphemy, the religious anarchy, the social selfishness, the theological wickedness, of this divided Protestantism, affronts every sense of sacrifice and order which man has received from God, presenting, indeed, a fearful

rending of the body of Christ. The conversion of the Roman church to Christ is in some senses a no less hopeful prospect than the conversion of Protestantism. But whether through a revived and regenerated Catholic church, — no longer Roman, but Christian and catholic indeed, — or whether through a defaulting Protestant liberty transmuted into divine order and unity, there will be a new and redeemed church. What the form of that church will be we do not know — it doth not yet appear. But we may know that it is coming, perhaps through great tribulation — perhaps the old church made new in the blood of the Lamb, regenerated through a new baptism in the sacrifice of God, — but coming to fill the earth with moral glory immortal, joy unspeakable, hope eternal. We should repent, therefore, and prepare the way of the Lord; for though what the church will be does not yet appear, we know that when it does appear, it shall be like him whose name it bears, and whose judgment is our hope.

I believe in the holy catholic church. The

dream of the federation of the nations in the holy universal church will yet be realized, when the church becomes worthy of the trust of the nations. The union of the nations in a Christian world empire will yet be accomplished in the church — a holy imperial church, without spot or blemish; a church which shall be the visible manifestation of the invisible government of God. Though the church of the fathers turned from the glory of the righteousness of Christ to the darkness and meanness of heathen metaphysical speculation, though the church of Rome usurped the place of Christ in the Christian empire, though the church of the Reformation failed of its mission because of the selfishness and divisiveness of theological strife, the regenerated church of the fulfilment will be the world organ of the Christianity that is surely revealing and organizing all human life. Even now the way opens for the church to move forward to the occupancy of its true position of throneship in the social organism — the position which it does not now occupy, and has fallen short of in the past, but will occupy

in the day of its regeneration. The church of to-day has it in its power to unofficially solve the problem of society in all nations, and it ought. It need wait for no national decrees to grasp and order the social future. It need tarry for no civil adjustments of the relations of church and state to morally rule the world; for the divine and continuing union of church and state will be a result and not a cause of the church's spiritual reign in the affairs of human government. It need delay for no trifling definitions and idle distinctions between the visible and invisible church — distinctions by which we would deceive our consciences, and evade the true and righteous judgments of God; it is a visible church that is our responsibility, — a church to be called to repentance and the fire of the Holy Ghost, to sacrifice and sovereignty; and we cannot escape our responsibility by comforting ourselves with deceitfully precious definitions. The people will accept the authority and freedom of a church that is in truth the throne of the Lamb — the centre from which Christ shall govern the world through his law

of sacrifice. The Christian revival of our nation will be a step in the preparation of the world for the divine absolutism of love that shall issue eternally from the holy imperial church, adorned at last in white righteousness, to be the bride of the Lamb through whom God shall reign forever. Even so, be thou speedily coming, Lord Jesus.

VI.

THE CHRISTIAN REVIVAL OF THE NATION.

Now it is the firm hold of these great realities of the kingdom, present to faith though far from sight, and the dauntless preaching of them with conviction and fervor, that is going to bring revivals of religion of a different sort from those which have been common here — revivals like those by which John the Baptist prepared the way of the kingdom, and Savanarola, four hundred years ago, revolutionized Florence. The fruits of these revivals will be found, not merely or mainly in lengthening church rolls, and more people at the prayer-meeting, but in the good-will that takes the place of strife in mill and factory; in the heroic and consecrated service of humanity that supplants our lazy and aimless almsgiving; and in the new ideals of public life that will banish the boss and the corruptionist from politics, and make the city hall the citadel of righteousness.

Revivals of religion like these are what the weary world is waiting for. Not until religion is manifested as the power that is able thus to subdue the kingdom of this world, will it command the respectful attention of men. And when you have made it mean all this — nay, when you have even made it manifest that this is what you mean by it, and are bound to make it stand for, the question about reaching the masses will drop out of your programs; the masses will come as clouds and as doves to your windows. — *Dr. Washington Gladden.*

VI.

THE CHRISTIAN REVIVAL OF THE NATION.

A BOTH terrible and hopeful fact of the history now being made is that the American people are under a national conviction of sin. God created and sent our nation to be an example and a witness of the power and wisdom of Christ unto the political salvation of the world. He appointed and anointed this nation to seek and fulfil the righteousness of his kingdom. We have failed. We have betrayed our trust, and forsaken our mission. God is disappointed in this nation. We are a fallen nation, an apostate people. We have done those material and political things we ought not to have done, and left undone the social and righteous things we ought to have done. We have wasted our substance in riotous national living, and have

been faithless to the freedom which our fathers received as the gift of God. We have used the liberty wherewith their sacrifice made us free to rob and oppress one another. We have forged bonds of iniquity that will have to be broken by the divine passions of our sons. We have committed sins that will have to be remitted in the offered lives of those who love this nation, and will give themselves for its redemption. We need and will have the atonement of such a sacrifice. The hurt of this people cannot be lightly treated, or easily healed. The nation is sick at heart, and the body politic full of disease and corruption. Except our nation repent, turning from political sin to social righteousness, it cannot be saved, and will lose its divine place in the earth. Except the energy which has gone into the mad competition and speculation for material wealth, into the building of rival churches, be changed into a search for the justice of the kingdom of God, the material things we have gained will be taken from us, and there will not be left one stone upon another of our great temples of

religion. Religious and economic statistics are no answer to this call to national repentance, and we cannot escape the call by chanting the holy watchwords of the fathers of our nation. Out of the movements and forces we despise, God is able and likely to raise up true children unto our fathers. Except this nation be born again, and waken from that blind fatalism, which is the optimism of apostates and hypocrites, to a regenerating national consciousness of God, it cannot receive the salvation and the glory of the Christian state.

We can none of us blame others than ourselves for our national fall from the grace and strength into which our nation was born. We are idle to place the guilt of our political sin and social shame on some other political party, some other sect of religion, than our own. In one way and another, we are all social sinners, and all in need of political redemption. We are none of us socially righteous, no, not one; nor have any of us been true to our nation, or been political witnesses of Christ to the people. We are all caught in the toils of the false so-

cial doctrines that are converting the liberty of our fathers into our own social depotism and slavery, and making us the destroyers of our brothers. We can none of us individually extricate ourselves from the social pain and shame, or escape the political guilt. Upon us all rests the iniquity of the system of organized social wrong. We should first of all be blaming ourselves for the nation's moral disgrace, and give ourselves to prayer and holy living, to sacrifice and work, on Christ's behalf, for our nation's redemption. We should seek and find wherein our own party, our own church, the practice of our own political or religious creed, has brought the nation's social woe and perplexity, and turn the forces of our relations and influence toward the social regeneration that is to be the new birth of the nation.

As the peril and strain of our national social situation increase, I am more clearly seeing that it is God himself who must save civilization and our nation. Except the Lord build the new social structure, we labor in vain to build it. Nothing else than a great political

revival of the religion of Christ, a profound recuperation of the church which bears his name, can solve the American problem of society. By nothing but prayer and fasting, issuing in repentance and the honest purpose to put the teachings of Christ into political, institutional, and industrial practice, will the social demons be cast out. I see no other hope for our nation, no other redemption for society, than a religious revival such as the world has never known, that shall enthrone Christ in our national ideals, and give men the common will and the power to put the Christ life into social practice. A larger knowledge of the revelation of God in Christ, a new vision of Christ in the world, must prepare the way for saving society through a regenerated national life. None of us can satisfy the social questioning that is everywhere rising; nor can anything we might offer of our own, cause the social hope that is able to save. Our national salvation will not come from our own baffled thought, or be the gain of our confused and ignorant efforts, but will come as the gift of God, who shall or-

dain peace for us when his Spirit shall have wrought in us his salvation in social justice. God will himself accomplish our social warfare, and purge our political iniquity, that he may speak comfortably at last to our redeemed and transformed institutions, empowered with the spirit and clothed with the authority of his Christ.

The faith that God through Christ will save society will not paralyze our reform activities, nor weaken our sense of social responsibility, nor shake our readiness to be offered in behalf of our brothers, but will divinely energize us to the most strenuous activity, and inspire us to the holiest sacrifice. Our faith that God himself will purge our political iniquity and effect our social salvation will, and nothing else can, make wise and mighty our social reforms, and change the vision of the kingdom of heaven on earth into fact. Civilization is founded upon what people believe concerning God and human life, and is built by what people feel. Social progress is but the deepening inbreathing of God, renewing the common life. Every new

development of society has been but the manifestation of a purified religious faith and increased religious feeling. Really, our social conflict, like all the conflicts gone, is a holy war between those who believe in God, and those who do not; between those who have faith in the right, and those who put their trust in the wrong; between those who believe in the law and power of sacrifice, and those who believe in the power and law of selfishness. The revival of the faith of those who have believed in the right that God has revealed in Christ is the national salvation for which we wait.

A truly scientific interpretation of history will give a place not yet given to the great religious revivals, and discern in them the formative influence of progress. Every wide revival has issued in social and political reconstruction. John Richard Green, in his "History of the English People," is the only historian who defines the work of religious movements in the political and social development of England. His report of the revival

of the twelfth century is suggestive to this time of industrial anarchy through plutocratic misrule. It was then, "at the close of Henry's reign, and throughout the reign of Stephen, England was stirred by the first of those great religious movements which it was to experience afterward in the preaching of the friars, the Lollardism of Wycliffe, the Reformation, the Puritan enthusiasm, and the mission-work of the Wesleys. Everywhere in town and country men banded themselves together for prayer; hermits flocked to the woods; noble and churl welcomed the austere Cistercians — a reformed offshoot of the Benedictine order — as they spread over the moors and forests of the north. A new spirit of devotion woke the slumbers of the religious houses, and penetrated alike to the home of the noble and the trader." The revival grew into a power "strong enough to wrest England out of the chaos of feudal misrule" after a long period of "feudal anarchy." The power and influence of the revivals of Edwards, the Wesleys, and Finney in the political development of

America have never been taken into account by our historians and political students. The emphasis laid upon the religious foundation of civilization is the chief value of Mr. Kidd's widely discussed book on "Social Evolution." The philosophy of Mr. Kidd's book I cannot for a moment accept. His conclusion is the distinct contradiction of his premise. His notion of religion as extra-rational and only supernatural I believe fatal to both faith and reason. The ignorance of some of his assumptions seems to me inexcusable, and his dogmatisms intolerable. Yet he has done good service in scientifically defining civilization as a religious development, and in calling our attention to the historical relation to that development of the purely intellectual forces. He clearly shows that "the process at work in society is evolving religious character as a first product, and intellectual capacity only so far as it can be associated with this quality. In other words, the most distinctive feature of human evolution as a whole is, that through the operation of the law of natural selection

the race must grow ever more and more religious." "The intellect has, accordingly, always mistaken the nature of religious forces, and regarded as beneath notice, movements which have had within them the power to control the course of human development for hundreds and even thousands of years." Noting the opposition of the educated classes in England to progress, he says: "This is to be noticed alike of measures which have extended education, which have emancipated trade, which have extended the franchise. The educated classes have even, it must be confessed, opposed measures which have tended to secure religious freedom and to abolish slavery. The motive force behind the long list of progressive measures carried during this period has in scarcely any appreciable measure come from the educated classes; it has come almost exclusively from the middle and lower classes, who have in turn acted, not under the stimulus of intellectual motives, but under the influence of their altruistic feelings." If we are to distinguish between the spiritual and the

intellectual man, which distinction is at best but an accommodation to our failure to apprehend the true nature of education, then the intellectual man is always a lower order of being than the spiritual man, just as the distinctively physical man is of a lower order than the intellectual. So I am only scientific when I look to the increased apprehension of spiritual forces, to the revival of faith and quickening of the religious feeling, for the remaking of society. And I speak with the historic spirit, in strict accord with the actual facts, when I say that society is to be saved through a great revival of the religion of Jesus Christ, who is to-day the social ideal of the world. Through yielding to the personal touch and power of the life forces in Christ, will the forces of our civilization be regenerated and harmonized.

But the Christian revival our nation needs is not only coming, it is come; and we are being borne by its deep movement toward the mark of a higher national destiny in Christ Jesus. Unto all those who love his appear-

ing, Christ is here, judging and reviving the nation. Our social conviction of sin, the heaviness of the divine hand on the national conscience, is the sign that the Christ is in the midst of our nation, and his judgments are our hope of redemption in righteousness. The manifest evidence of the reviving presence of Christ is the fact that men and institutions are being practically judged by his teachings. We are thus a saved nation, and not lost, though fallen we be; for God who is reviving us through his Christ will bring forth our nation anew.

The Christian revival of our nation is, and will more fully prove to be, distinctly social in its nature, though in being social it will also become political, and will deeply change the life and prospect of the church. It will have so little of the old individualistic ground of appeal and growth, that the church will probably be overwhelmed by its power ere professional Christianity discerns the revival's presence. Men will repent, as they repented at the call of Jesus and his prophet, because a new order of

things is at hand, appealing to all their potential moral greatness, and giving them power to sacrifice themselves that the new order may be fulfilled. Not Thomas à Kempis and the individualism of Puritan religious teachers, nor the unmoral methods and appeals of modern evangelism, greatly as God has honored and used all these, but Jesus and Paul better read will supply the thought and appeal of the coming evangelism of the kingdom of God. The unity of life is both the morally terrible and fundamentally hopeful fact with which the larger revival will reckon in its pursuit of the salvation of men.

No mere individualism, religious or political, can save the world. The individual religious development will necessarily be arrested henceforth until we have a religious social development. The conversion of the individual to Christ is a phrase now emptied of much of its real meaning until the social ideal of Christ shall be conceived in the heart of society. Associated men, though they may be individually converted to a faith in Christ, yet now econ-

omically act, and are socially related to each other, under the dominion of principles and customs that are largely a contradiction of all that Jesus taught and practised. There must be given to men, and society must accept, a wholly new order of human relations before even the individual may fully see the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God is not in individuals, save as they are in right relations with each other. The individual can become wholly perfect only through the perfection of his relations. There is no perfect deliverance of the individual from relations with the sin of the world without the social realization of Christianity.

The social oneness of human life does not subtract, as some are constantly asserting, from the personal responsibility of the individual, but infinitely adds thereto. If men are made to understand that each one is not only responsible for his own life, or for the life of such neighbors as he may select, but for all human life as well; that sin is nothing more nor less than various gross or refined forms and

degrees of living for one's self instead of for others; and that the only individual salvation is in following Christ in bearing away the sin of the world — we have surely brought to bear upon them an appeal that makes insignificant and of doubtful moral quality any mere individualistic appeal. The social motive for repentance, instead of subtracting from personal responsibility, invests the individual with the very responsibility of God. It is the evangelism that makes the kingdom of God — the divine harmony and happiness of human kind — not a mere individual escape, the motive for repentance. The repentance this evangelism will procure is that of an awakening to the wrong, ruin, and sorrow which the individual sinner inflicts upon his fellows without regard to his good or evil intentions, making his life a moral cancer in the body of humanity, a frightful moral disorder in the social organism. It will be a repentance also born of the terrible consciousness of the difficulties which the individual sinner puts in the way of God himself. For there is a sense in which human sin cripples God; your

sin and mine compromise God, embarrass his Spirit, frustrate and delay his plans, pierce his Father-heart with a pain that we cannot in the least understand except through well and penitently considering the cross. Thus not only one's neighbor, his nation, his world, but God and his whole universe, are involved in the sin of the individual, and grounded in the divine and ultimate motive for individual repentance. It surely seems a strange want of faith in God and the power of his Spirit, a strangely selfish regard for one's cherished religious doctrines, to impugn the worth and force of the social motive for repentance.

No man who is truly converted to Christ's way of life, who is reconciled to making God's moral nature his own, and has thus experienced that reconciliation and propitiation with God's will and way which the cross is meant to procure, will want to extricate himself from the common social woe; he ought not, he dare not. We are all members one of another, limited by each other's limitations, rightly bearing the imputation of each other's guilt, all expiators

of a common inheritance of sin from the past. The individual could not extricate himself from the social guilt, if individual extrication were possible, without condemning himself to a worse guilt. There is a divine complicity in the common evil, a redemptive participation in the social wrong, which is the very essence of Christian living. It is infinitely better and Christlier to fail in a sense, to be less good, if you please, in sharing the social guilt and woe, than to spiritually succeed apart. One had better not be a saint, and accept the limitations of the common social trials, engaging in work that is entangled with the social wrong, raising a family amidst the social change and seeming chance, bearing the burden and heartache of the social failure, enduring the pain of the social strife and evolution, than to be a saint and live apart from these. The regenerated individual must bear, and ought to bear, the humiliation and perplexity, the social guilt and retribution, of the sins of the system in which he lives; he cannot and ought not escape being a bearer of the social sin and shame; his food and cloth-

ing, his money and his bread, the home in which he lives and the books he reads, the school in which he learns and the pulpit under which he worships, are all stained with the blood of the social victims ; it must be so with him, for it was so with Christ ; in no other way than by being made sin for society, by voluntarily enduring the social agony and expiation, can he prepare society to become the organized righteousness of God. He that is least in the kingdom of social life and experience, he that is weakest in the toils of the social salvation, is greater than he that is saintliest in the kingdom of individualistic prayer and religious self-concern.

The first work of Jesus was the bringing into the world of a new social spirit, the telling and interpreting of a new order of life, which spirit and order men might individually accept or reject, but which yet placed them in a wholly new attitude toward God and the world. The kingdom of God was preached first, the social regeneration first begun, the new spirit and order of association first made known and

brought to bear upon men, and the relation of the individual to the new spirit and regenerated order proclaimed afterward. And this is the divine method always. Cardinal Newman has said : "If there be a distinction of the gospel plainly laid down in Scripture, it is that it is a social religion, and addresses individuals as parts of a whole." I cannot find that Jesus ever dealt with a soul as sustaining simply an individual relation to God. His apparently most individualistic sayings, when taken knowledge of with their context and associations, never treat any man apart from his relations to other men, apart from the social organism. Christ's process of salvation is the spiritual communizing of men, bringing them out of selfish and discordant into just and harmonious relations, changing them from purely individual into loving and social beings. The redemption of the world is the divine socialization of the race.

The Christian revival of our nation does not need to wait for what the churches have understood by the conversion of the individual before

the present social order be born into a new and diviner quality of human relations. The social salvation of our nation through Christ will by no means wait for the conversion of each individual, or the conscious conversion of a majority of individuals, to the divinely coming social order. We do not need to wait until each member of society is converted to Christ's philosophy of life in order to translate his teachings into social organization. The principles of the Sermon on the Mount may organize the economic relations of men long before every individual is converted to these principles. The divine government of the world which Jesus disclosed may be translated into our national ideals, incorporated in the public life of the nation and made the spirit of its laws, generations before its legislators consciously accept this divine government. As Christendom became an organized reality, in some degree permeated and ruled by the Christ life, a divine advance beyond the spirit of Roman imperialism, long before the nations had any Christian conception of law and gov-

ernment, so the state can become Christian in the ideals and patterns of its organization, likewise the industrial and social order within its borders, long before all citizens, or even a majority of citizens, are consciously converted to the Christ life. I do not expect the individual to be relieved of his responsibility through environment, but expect the accomplishment of such organizations of the righteousness of the kingdom of God, as will infinitely increase both the opportunity and responsibility of the individual. With the kingdom of heaven manifestly at hand in the spirit and pattern of our social organizations and political institutions, God has wide open channels, now closed, through which the mighty spiritual forces at his command may press upon the individual. Though we are seldom honest enough to confess it, we all perfectly well know that the vast majority of individuals have and can have no reasonable opportunity for conversion to the Christ life, or development therein, in the existing order of society.

A function of the Christian revival of our

nation, though it will not be fulfilled until other and more immediate functions have been realized, is the social organization of education. Upon the nature of the common education does the foundation and perpetuity of the nation depend. And we are not an educated nation. We are committing a great national blunder in supposing that our public schools and the spread of popular information are educating the people. The fundamental principle of education is the discovery and apprehension of right. The peril of our people is in the want of a righteous will; in the lack of ethical sense; in the individualistic nature and social infidelity of education. We are just emerging from an excited and exhausted age — a wild, speculative, covetous age without moral reason, without a will to seek and achieve right. "Freedom without will," says Hegel, "is an empty word." The want of a righteous social will has been largely due to the extreme individualism and moral imbecility of our education, appealing to the most selfish and dwarfing motives for intellectual success. Even

theological institutions depend on competitive methods and prizes to procure the closest diligence on the part of those commissioned by their Lord to disciple the nations in the universal law of sacrifice.

The education of life does not consist in the number of things one knows, but in the discovery and appropriation of the forces which unfold and empower life. It is not the spread of information we really need so much, or that is doing us much good — the popularization of the Greek play, of books about the old masters, or even of political economy; we need instruction in justice and right — their popularization and history. We do not know how to appropriate what is in literature, in science, in history, until we know how to translate them into terms of right and wrong, how to make them the channels through which the forces of life are received, to be wrought into character and given to the world in power and sacrifice. One man may spend years with Homer, and have a perfect knowledge of the entire text, yet in no sense be Homerically educated; an-

other may read a few lines of Homer, comprehending their life sources and appropriating their life forces, and receive a measure of universal and eternal education.

Education is a spiritual and moral process, and can only be truly organized with a view to moral development in the highest quality of right known to the nation. Christ's revelation of the relation of the spiritual and moral to the intellectual development is clearly different from our present apprehension. The intellect of Jesus was enlightened, his ideas conceived, his thought formed, through the operation on his life of spiritual forces; through moral passions and pursuits. He was unlettered while the teachers of his day were extraordinarily lettered men; yet he was educated and they were uneducated; he had knowledge while they had ignorance. He was taught, as he insisted that all men should be taught, immediately by the Spirit of God — that is, through the moral processes involved in making righteousness the end of his learning. There was a large sense in which Jesus lived continually in

the moment, free from all need of being consistent or logical, according to our systems and logics. There was a complete absence from his development of the mechanical, the arbitrary, the perplexing, even the ethical; his was a wholly personal, spiritual, and moral development. He never presented his own teachings in any systematic form; he developed no system of truth, or ethics, or principles, though he presented a complete philosophy of life. Withal, history knows of no life that unfolded so methodically, that was so perfectly educated, as the life of the Son of man. The method of the education of Jesus was, however, the method of the development of Peter, John, and Paul, the three characters among the apostles possessing the greatest spiritual, personal, and intellectual forces; they were educated directly of God, through the operation on their minds of the Spirit of life that was in Christ — that is, through pursuing and organizing all knowledge as a means to righteousness. This divine method of education has been tested but incidentally and meagrely in the history of edu-

cation — even the education under the control of the church. Much of our present elementary education is a sadly ignorant trifling with young life; and our higher education, when not a mere intellectual dilettanteism, is largely what might be called an intellectual sensuality, more ruinous to the life than the lust of gain or the lust of the body. In our learning how to apprehend and use the educational method of Jesus, in the development of his own life and the lives he taught, lie the redemption of education and a Christian development of the intellect.

The education of a man is never merely or mainly an individual matter, but a matter of universal concern; it is the socializing, the universalizing, of the man's life. The education of a man consists in the fulfilment of his life as a mission among men; as a divine errand in the world. True education is the bringing of a man into right relations with his fellows and with God. It is the realization of one's manhood, the development of a man in his entirety. The word holiness, if rightly com-

prehended, would express the end of education. To educate one is to make him whole, to put him in the way of realizing his manhood in its social entirety. A process by which a man is made whole, by which his life is fulfilled in association, is the school for the accumulation and discipline of knowledge. But the process is not the wholeness, any more than the sun that pulls the oak out of the acorn is the tree. A man is being educated only by that which is calling all the powers of his whole life into sacrifice and service. The realization of both a Christian education and a true democracy will proceed with the making of whole men and women.

The whole man is a political being. He who is not in the best sense a politician is something less than a man, and fails to fulfil his life. He who withdraws from the politics of the nation for the sake of private interests, that he may devote himself to material gain or intellectual study, has morally betrayed his nation. He who is not educated in political right, and participates not in the politics of

his people, is politically atheistic; he refuses national and sacrificial fellowship with the life of God. For God lives in the politics of the people; in the midst of the nation he dwells; he has always been seeking to fulfil his right in the being of the nation. The state is bound to educate men in political right; for the common wealth depends upon the common moral health of the political people. The education that will increase and fulfil the Christian revival of the nation, and prepare the way of the Christian state, is the development of a common political Christ mind in the people; the development of the will and power of the people to love each other economically, socially, industrially, and politically, and associate themselves in nationally organized sacrifice for fulfilling the kingdom of God in the world.

An immediate function of our national revival of Christianity is to unify the various reforms, political, social, and religious, that are now working independently, and largely at cross purposes. A fatality of the Reformation, which we must sacrifice and pray to avert

in the great changes we are in the midst of, was the breaking-up of the reforming forces into hostile camps, each camp becoming intent upon the definition and defence of its own peculiar doctrines, and the Reformation was in a large sense a failure. For if there were nothing beyond Protestantism for the church, the church would be lost indeed, and Christianity a receding force. But it ought not to be among us as it was among the Reformers, with the lessons of the Reformation so plainly manifest in a divided and weakened church. Nor will it be so, if all of us who hope for the redemption of our nation, who wait and work for the regeneration of society, are Christly enough to make the sacrifice of methods and opinions that the urgency of our divine opportunity demands, and unite upon a few fundamental principles, that we may go before the people with a national social program of Christ. After the revival power that is rising through the nation has possessed us, we shall have power to unite our social effort, and become as one witness of the Christ whose appearing is now widely man-

ifest. Doubtless the main service of our social efforts and reforms thus far has been the preparation of the political way of the Lord Christ. As I say this, I seem to hear again certain passages in Beethoven's only opera, "Fidelio;" as the power of these passages increases in their progress, you can see the great sorrowful composer reaching out into the realms of music to gather and accord the sounds which he pours forth in majestic harmonies, that make you hear God singing a hymn of faith concerning the world, while he pauses for a moment of rest in his travail for man. So our now unrelated and conflicting social efforts will be gathered by the Christ, now appearing in their midst, into one great harmonious movement toward the realization of the kingdom of God in our national life and institutions.

Another function of the revival will be the preparation of a new spirit in the accomplishment of great changes. Between the wrath of the Lamb and the wrath of even the noblest Puritan spirit there is a profound difference. The hand of the most righteous iconoclast and

the hand that wielded the whip of small cords were not moved by the same spirit. It is not enough to be mastered by a strong passion for righteousness, and overcome with an indignation at wrong; only they who have been baptized with the holiest and most sacrificial love for men, whose experience has taught them that mercy as well as judgment is law, whose hearts are broken with the pain of the wrong as if the wrong were all their own, are fitted to denounce the wrong and declare the right. It is not enough to know the truth, and our responsibility ends not with speaking the truth; we dare not dismiss the uncomprehending and resentful with the thought that our duty is done when our message is spoken, and that their settlement is now only with God; he is not prepared to be an apostle of truth who has not felt the hurt and horror of falsehood as if he were its cause, and responsible for the world's extrication from its ruin and power; none are divinely ready to bear witness to the truth save such as can enter sympathetically into the feelings of even the Pharisee or the Sadducee, and

bear all reviling without self-consciousness, with shame and persecution, in the hope of so lovingly manifesting the truth as to win men to its service. They who would set the world right must know the fellowship of the divine expiation of the world's wrong; they must know how to vicariously appropriate to their own souls the humiliation and retribution of wrong, its sorrows and its agony, and with these the hope of repentance and the power of forgiving love. By those who are "ready to live the life of the Crucified" will the Christian revival of the nation be apprehended and wrought into regenerated social organizations and political institutions.

Our nation is saved; for the Christ of God is manifestly reviving us in the midst of our political corruptions, religious apostasies, and social disorder. But out of what travail and sorrow the Christian birth of our nation may come no man can tell. We live in the early consummation of a system, a materialistic development of civilization, that is as truly exhausted of its vital forces and decadent, and

relatively as confident and revengeful, as the Roman system into which Jesus came. So in the midst of the awful days that draw near, in the tribulation of the social change, there must grow up a new Christian fellowship, which will draw no visible lines of separation and form no new institutions, but which will yet be as distinct in spirit from the professional religion of the church and the politics of our parties as the early Christian communities were distinct from the religion of Judaism and the politics of Rome. And these political disciples of Christ, these social witnesses of his, must be as truly prepared to be sacrificed for their Lord as were his primitive disciples. The service of witnessing for Christ, though holy with the blessedness and strength of the purest and fullest inspiration, is a service that costs far beyond the modern religious estimate, and should be entered upon only by those who love not their life unto the death, and have been baptized in the blood of the Lamb. A thousand may do needed and noble work amidst the praise of men, who will rise in wrath against

one who speaks the truth pertinent to his time. The teachings of Christ are yet so new to our apprehension that they will seem destructive to faith and civilization when seriously applied to existing organizations and economies. The witnessing of a good confession of political faith in Christ, though gladly heard by the people, will not be patiently endured by many leaders of official religion and politics. They who have undertaken to deliver the word of such a testimony have already been denounced as destroyers of faith and order by both political and religious authorities. By a fellowship of men able to deny themselves and bear the reproach of Christ, to throw away their reputation and be disgraced before official religion and politics for his name's sake, will the way be prepared for the political realization of the sacrifice of Christ in a state converted to be his minister to the collective peoples.

But this apostolic fellowship will have both such a retrospect and prospect of joy as to make each life a song of hope to the world. They follow the prophets who through faith

subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the power of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, from weakness were made strong, waxed mighty in war, turned to flight armies of aliens. They walk the triumphant path of the primitive martyr founders of our faith, who were everywhere classed in the ancient world as atheists, and enemies of faith and morals. As they witness and work, they may helpfully call to mind the disgrace that not long ago attached to the abolitionism of fathers who are now anxious and angry because of the social hopes of their sons. Above all other sources of solace and courage, there is the presence and fellowship of him whose words and sacrifice bid the faithful be of good cheer, in the knowledge that this is a saved and not a lost world. And better than all solace and courage, stronger than all spiritual comfort and mortal faith, is the love of the Father who hath brought you and me into this wondrous present redemptive time of the social immanence and political manifestation of his Christ. For

the loss of all things can be as nothing when weighed with the privilege of testifying to the presence of Christ as the social Deliverer, and to the associating power and organizing wisdom of his law of love, unto our nation so deeply troubled with industrial disorganization, and with the reorganization of industrial forces in social hostility. And the misunderstanding of such a testimony, which a witness for Christ cannot for a moment consider for his own sake, but only as a revelation of the need of Christ in human life, and a call to the matchless joy of serving that need, will disappear with all the moral mists and clouds of our selfish minds in the light of the holier social day, when the Christ shall have manifested his appearing in a regenerated civilization.

Will any of us follow him — are we ready to be offered? If we will, if we are, why are we so slow of faith, so doubtful in action? Why are not we, and all who would be of the fellowship between the two great seas, finding each other out, that we may move together in one holy fellowship of sacrifice, not in strife of

words or deeds, but as true and faithful witnesses to the come King and his kingdom, apparently unorganized and yet more terrible to organized wrong than any army with banners? The appearing Christ, whose presence has been manifest to us in this hour, now bids us arise and go hence with him, praying for the faith that will not fail him and the fear that will not deny him, associating with us all who will hear and believe. And the hence to which he would have us go is the Calvary of the social redemption that shall enthrone him as the nation's King, redeem the nation unto social holiness, and set the people free. Shall we arise and go hence with him — to the cross — then into the glory of the national resurrection — the regenerate civilization — the holy city come down out of heaven from God?

"*Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of the world? For seeing that in the wisdom of God, the world through its wisdom knew not God, it was God's good pleasure through the foolishness of the preaching to save them that believe. Seeing that Jews ask for signs, and Greeks seek after wisdom: but we preach Christ crucified, unto Jews a stumblingblock, and unto Gentiles foolishness; but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men.*

"*For ye behold your calling, brethren, how that not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: but God chose the foolish things of the world, that he might put to shame them that are wise; and God chose the weak things of the world, that he might put to shame the things that are strong; and the base things of the world, and the things that are despised, did God choose, yea, and the things that are not, that he might bring to nought the things that are: that no flesh should glory before God. But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.*"

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